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NÂGOJÎBHAṬṬA'S PARIBHÂSHENDUŚEKHARA.

THE

PARIBHÂSHENDUŚEKHARA

OF

NÂGOJÎBHAṬṬA

EDITED AND EXPLAINED

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Part II.

TRANSLATION AND NOTES.

(PARIBHÂSHÂS XXXVIII.—LXIX.)

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PARIBHÂSHÂ XXXVIII.

P. XXXVIII : Of (these five kinds of rules,—*viz.*) a preceding (rule), a subsequent (rule), a *nitya* (rule), an *antaranga* (rule), and an *Apavâda*,—each following (rule) possesses greater force (than any one of, or all, the rules which in this Paribhâshâ are mentioned before it).[1]

A subsequent (rule) possesses greater force than a preceding

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1. This Paribhâshâ stands at the head of a very important chapter of the Paribhâshendus'ekhara which extends as far as Par. LXVI. The terms पूर्व 'preceding' and पर 'subsequent' are sufficiently clear in themselves; they refer to the sequence of the rules in Pâṇini's grammar. The term नित्य will be defined in Par. XLII. etc., the term अन्तरङ्ग in Par. L., and the term अपवाद in Par. LVII. It has been considered safest to retain the three last terms in the translation, because no translation which either has been proposed by other scholars or which could have been invented, appeared to be sufficiently accurate. It will be clear from the following that all the five terms पूर्व, पर etc. do not apply merely to the rules of Pâṇini's grammar, but also to that which is taught in those rules; *e. g.* just as we may say that the *rule* P. VII., 3, 103 is *para* with reference to P. VII., 3, 102, so we may also say that the *substitution of* ए (taught in P. VII., 3, 103), or the ए (the substitution of which is taught in P. VII., 3, 103), is *para* with reference to the substitution of a long vowel (taught in P. VII., 3, 102), or with reference to the long vowel (the substitution of which is taught in P. VII., 3, 102).

(rule); *i. e.* a subsequent (rule) supersedes by P. I., 4, 2 (a rule) which (in Pâṇini's grammar) precedes it.[1]

1. *E. g.* In the formation of the Dat. Plur. of वृक्ष, from वृक्ष+भ्यस्, there arises the question whether the final अ of वृक्ष shall be lengthened by P. VII., 3, 102, or changed to ए by P. VII., 3, 103. Here the subsequent rule VII., 3, 103 supersedes by the present Paribhâshâ the preceding rule VII., 3, 102, and अ is accordingly changed to ए. We obtain thus वृक्षेभ्यः. See pag. 19.

PARIBHÂSHÂS XXXIX. AND XL.

Now one might say that, (if) then (a subsequent rule were always to supersede a preceding rule), भि[1] ought never (to be

1. P.: Some say: 'The right reading is भिन्द्धीत्यत्र परत्वात्तेना पीतौऽकञ् स्यात्; the reading भिन्द्धीत्यत्र परत्वात्तङा वाधितो भि स्यात् is incorrect, because it is contrary to the Bhâshya and to Kaiyaṭa's remarks on P. I., 2, 28. There namely Kaiyaṭa has stated that Par. XXXIX. is occasionally adopted, *viz.* when the taking effect of the preceding rule does not render the taking effect of the subsequent rule impossible. (In the case of भिन्द्धि the substitution of भि for हि, regarding which there is no option, would make the optional substitution of तात् for हि impossible, and Par. XXXIX. ought therefore according to Kaiyaṭa not to be resorted to in this instance). In the case of भिन्दकि, on the other hand, the insertion of अकञ् before the final इ, which is taught in P. V., 3, 71, does not prevent the taking effect of P. VII., 4, 101, and भिन्दकि offers accordingly a genuine example of the application of Par. XXXIX.'

[Cf. Bhâshya on P. I., 2, 28: अथ पूर्वस्मिन्नेव (*i. e.* in P. I., 2, 27) अभ्यग्रहणे सति किं प्रयोजनम् । अभ्यग्रहणं संयोगाच्चसमुदायनिवृत्त्यर्थम् । अभ्यग्रहणं किम् (*viz.* in P. I., 2, 27) संयोगानिवृत्त्यर्थम् । अच्चसमुदायनिवृत्त्यर्थे च ॥ संयोगानिवृत्त्यर्थे तावत्]

(formation of the) 2. Sing. Pres. Imper. Par. of भिद् (from भिन्द् ७।१।३), to be (substituted for the original हि), because (its substitution ought to be) superseded by (that of) तातङ्; for (the rule P. VII., 1, 35 which teaches the substitution of तातङ्) *follows* (upon the rule P. VI., 4, 101 which teaches the substitution

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परत्वाय परत्वं । इकारस्य पित्त्वे कृते नुक् [६.१.७१] इति नुग्मा भूत् ॥ अच्समुदायनिमित्तयोस्तु । तितउच्छतं तितउच्छाथां । दीर्घोत्सदान्ताद्वा [६.१.७५,७६] इति नुग्मा भूदिति ॥

Kaiyaṭa: तितउच्छत्वमिति । परत्वादीर्घलक्षणे वा नुकि सति सकृद्गतौ विप्रतिषेध इति न्यायादुत्सलक्षणः पुनर्न प्रवर्तते । न चैवमिहापि विषये पुनःप्रसङ्गविज्ञानमस्ति नित्यविकल्पयोरेकत्वान्नित्येन बाधात् । यत्र हि पूर्वो विधिः परं न बाधते तत्र पुनःप्रसङ्गविज्ञानं क्वचिद्बाधकं ॥]

In reality, however, the above statement of Kaiyaṭa is incorrect because it is at variance with the Bhâshya, with Kaiyaṭa's own comment, and with the remarks of other scholars on P. VII., 1, 77. For there it is said that in the formation of आक्षी (from अक्षि+औ) the rule P. VII., 1, 77, which teaches the substitution of ई for the final इ of आक्षि, supersedes the preceding rule P. VII., 1, 73, which teaches the addition of the augment नुक्; further, that when P. VII., 1, 77 has once taken effect, P. VII., 1, 73 is by Par. XL. prevented from applying again; that ई is substituted (by P. VII., 1, 19) for the termination औ, and that finally ई is (by P. VI., 1, 101) substituted for the final ई of the base and the termination ई.

[Cf. Kaiyaṭa on P. VII., 1, 77 . . . . ईकारस्तु विधीयमानः परत्वान्नुमं बाधते तेन प्राप्ते कृते पुनर्नुम्प्राप्तौ इति सिध्यति ।].

If the statement made by Kaiyaṭa on P. I., 2, 28 were correct, Par. XXXIX. ought to have been applied here, and not Par. XL.; for in this case the addition of नुग्, which is taught in the preceding rule VII., 1, 73, would not have prevented the substitution of ई taught in the subsequent rule VII., 1, 77.

Moreover Kaiyaṭa's remark on P. I., 2, 28 is incorrect because it is contrary to the Bhâshya and to Kaiyaṭa's own remarks on P. I., 4, 74;

of भि for हि). To refute this (the author of the Paribhâshâs) says:

P. XXXIX: (Occasionally the formation of a particular form) is accounted for by the fact that (a preceding rule) is allowed to apply again, (after it had previously been superseded by a subsequent rule).[1]

In (the formation of) the Gen. Fem. of वि, (from वि+आम्, two rules apply simultaneously, *viz.* P. VII., 1, 53 which teaches the

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for in the last mentioned passage Par. XXXIX. has actually been applied by Kaiyaṭa himself whereas the same scholar's statement on P. I., 2, 28 would prevent its application.

[Cf. Bhâshya on P. I., 4, 74: तत्र च चिप्रतिषेधः। तत्र च स्थानिवदेव प्राप्तिर्भी वक्तव्यः। लवणीकृत्य ॥ न वा पूर्वेण कृतत्वात्। न वा वक्तव्यम्। किं कारणम्। पूर्वेण कृतत्वात्। अस्त्वनेन विभाषा पूर्वेण (*viz.* by P. I., 4, 61) सिद्धा भविष्यति ॥ Kaiyaṭa: लवणीकृत्येति। अत्र हि परत्वादनेन विभाषा प्राप्तिर्नित्या च प्राप्तिर्बाधते। पूर्वेणेति। पुनःप्रसङ्गविज्ञानादिति भावः ॥]

The truth is that either of the two Paribhâshâs, XXXIX. or XL., may be resorted to, just as the particular forms that have to be formed or to be accounted for by the rules of Pâṇini's grammar require the adoption of the one or the other, and to indicate this Nâgojibhaṭṭa says pag. 36, l. 8 (of the text) तत्र लक्षणानुसारात् etc. The reading भिन्द्रीत्यत्र is therefore quite correct.

1. P. VII., 1, 35 supersedes therefore first P. VI., 4, 101, but after the former rule has taken effect and after we have obtained by it the two forms भिन्त्तात् and भिन्द्+हि, P. VI., 4, 101 is allowed to apply again and accordingly we change भिन्द्+हि to भिन्धि. But we are not allowed to substitute वि by P. VI., 4, 101 also for the त् of भिन्त्तात् which by Sthânivattva would be equivalent to the original वि, because such a proceeding would render the rule P. VII., 1, 35 entirely useless.—Cf. also Si. Kau. II., pag. 66; 106.

substitution of लय for वि, and P. VII., 2, 99 which teaches the substitution of तिसृ for वि; such being the case, P. VII., 2, 99 supersedes by Paribhâshâ XXXVIII. P. VII., 1, 53) because it follows upon that rule, (and) तिसृ is (accordingly by P. VII., 2, 99) substituted (for वि). Now one might say that (if) then (Paribhâshâ XXXIX. were to be acted upon in every case, the substitute) लय (which is taught in P. VII., 1, 53) ought, (after the substitution of तिसृ has taken place, in accordance with that Paribhâshâ) to be substituted (for तिसृ, to which P. VII., 1, 53 would) again (be applicable, because तिसृ by Sthânivadbhâva would be equivalent to the original वि). To refute this (the author of the Paribhâshâs) says:

P. XL: When (two rules), while they apply (simultaneously), mutually prohibit each other,[1] that (rule of the two) which is once superseded (by the other), is superseded altogether (and cannot therefore apply again after the latter rule has taken effect).[2]

(The latter) of these (two Paribhâshâs, *viz.*) Par. XL., is established thus: as two operations, either of which takes effect

1. P.: गतौ शास्त्रयोः प्राप्तौ सत्यां यौ विप्रतिषेधस्तस्मिन्सति सकृदेकवारं यद्बाधितं तद्बाधितमेव; or the words गतौ विप्रतिषेधे are explained to mean: 'when (two rules either of which) takes effect (in the formation of some form or forms where the other is not applicable) prohibit each other mutually (while they apply simultaneously in the formation of one and the same form).' Nâgoji's own words are: यद्वा गत्यभिन्ने विप्रतिषेधेऽन्यत्र लब्धावकाशयोरेकस्मिन्युगपदसंभावितप्राप्तिरेव विप्रतिषेधपदार्थत्वेनोक्तत्वात् । अन्यत्प्राग्वत् ।.

2. Accordingly, when P. VII., 1, 53 has once been superseded by P. VII., 2, 99, it cannot apply again, and लय can therefore not be substituted for तिसृ.

in (the formation of) some (form or forms where the other does not apply), cannot possibly both take effect simultaneously in (the formation of) one and the same (form), the two rules (which teach those two operations) would apply alternately just as (the affixes) तृच् etc. (of P. III., 1, 133 etc. are added alternately), because there is nothing that could invalidate (either rule). Under these circumstances the rule P. I., 4, 2 is intended to convey the *restriction* (that the subsequent rule *only* is to take effect). Paribhâshâ XXXIX., (on the other hand), is established thus: when two men of equal power have one messenger, he will do their business alternately; (but) should both send him simultaneously and their orders require him (to go) in different directions, he will not do the business of either of them, because he cannot do it simultaneously. In the same manner two rules either of which takes effect in (the formation of) some form or forms (where the other does not apply) would have no concern with a form (to which both apply) because they cannot take effect simultaneously. Such being the case, the same (rule P. I., 4, 2) is meant to *direct* (that) the subsequent rule (shall take effect). Should, after the (subsequent rule) has taken effect, the preceding rule be (still) applicable, then that rule likewise takes effect. (All) this is found in the Bhâshya on P. I., 4, 2.

Kaiyaṭa and others,[1] however, (differ from the above. A word denotes either an individual or it denotes a genus;[2] *e. g.* the word ब्राह्मण 'Brâhman' denotes either an individual Brâhman, or it may denote the genus Brâhman, *i. e.* any and every Brâhman. On the former alternative the term त्रि in P. VII., 1, 53 denotes

1. कैयटादयः; आदिना सरिदेवहरदत्तकौस्तुभकृदादयः. P.
2. See Mahâbhâshya, Ed. Ballantyne pag. 41.

the individual त्रि of which the Gen. Masc. is formed, the त्रि of which the Gen. Fem. is formed, and the त्रि of which the Gen. Neut. is formed. Similarly the term त्रि in P. VII., 2, 99 denotes the individual त्रि of which the Nom. Fem. is formed, the त्रि of which the Acc. Fem. is formed, the त्रि of which the Instr. Fem. is formed, the त्रि of which the Dat. and Abl. Fem. is formed, the त्रि of which the Gen. Fem. is formed, and the त्रि of which the Loc. Fem. is formed. On the latter alternative the term त्रि both of P. VII., 1, 53 and of P. VII., 2, 99 denotes only one thing, *viz.* whatever falls under or possesses the genus त्रित्व, any and every त्रि whatsoever. Kaiyaṭa and others) maintain (now) that on the first alternative a rule is repeated as many times as there are individual forms (that fall under the rule; *e. g.* P. VII., 1, 53 is repeated three times, once for the त्रि of which the Gen. Masc. is formed, once for the त्रि of which the Gen. Fem. is formed, and once for the त्रि of which the Gen. Neut. is formed; similarly P. VII., 2, 99 is repeated seven times, once for the त्रि of which the Nom. Fem. is formed, once for the त्रि of which the Acc. Fem. is formed etc.) Such being the case, whenever one and the same form (such as that त्रि of which the Gen. Fem. is formed) falls under two rules (P. VII., 1, 53 and VII., 2, 99), both (rules) ought to apply to it alternately because they (or at any rate one of them) would (otherwise) serve no purpose, (both rules applying exclusively to the one individual त्रि of which the Gen. Fem. is formed, and to no other त्रि whatsoever).[1] Under these circumstances, (however), the (rule

1. Instead of the one rule वेरपञ्यः we have three rules वेरपञ्यः, one for the त्रि of the Gen. Masc., one for the त्रि of the Gen. Fem., and one for the त्रि of the Gen. Neut. Similarly instead of the one rule त्रिचतुरोः etc. we have seven rules त्रिचतुरोः etc., one for the त्रि of the Nom. Fem.,

P. I., 4, 2) is intended to convey the *restriction* that the subsequent (rule P. VII., 2, 99) only (shall take effect,) and thereby Par. XL. is established. On this alternative the preceding rule (P. VII., 1, 53) is in consequence of this restriction not repeated for that one form (वि where the subsequent rule P. VII., 2, 99 only is to take effect, *i. e.* for that वि of which the Gen. Fem. is formed). On the other hand, on the alternative that a word denotes a genus, two rules (such as P. VII., 1, 53 and VII., 2, 99) either of which takes effect in some form[1] which is possessed of that which determines its being subject to (either) rule,[2] (as *e. g.* P. VII., 1, 53 takes effect in the case of the वि of which the Gen. Masc. is formed, and P. VII., 2, 99 in the case of the वि of which the Nom. Fem. is formed), would neither of them apply where they would come into conflict with each other, or in other words, where both would not be able to take effect simultaneously, (which would be the case in the Gen. Fem. of वि), just

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one for the वि of the Acc. Fem. etc. For the वि of the Gen. Fem. we have the two rules लेस्वयः and विचनुरोः etc., which do not concern any other वि except that of which the Gen. Fem. is formed. As both these rules must be given for some purpose we should have to apply both alternately, if P. I., 4. 2 did not prescribe another course. On the Jâtipaksha we have only one rule लेस्वयः and one rule विचनुरोः etc.; the former we make use of *e. g.* in the Gen. Masc. of वि, the latter *e. g.* in the Nom. Fem. In the Gen. Fem. where both rules would come into conflict with each other, we might be inclined to apply neither rule because both rules *do* serve a purpose even without being applied in the Gen. Fem. But here again we are directed by P. I., 4, 2 to adopt a different course.

1. *Viz.* which does not fall under the other rule.

2. *E. g.* The वि of which the Gen. Masc. is formed is possessed of the genus त्वि and it falls therefore under the rule P. VII., 1, 53 लेस्वयः in which वि is the उद्देश्य *i. e.* that यदुद्दिश्य लयादेशो विधीयते.

as two inferences cannot be drawn from two counterbalanced reasons. Such being the case, the same (rule P. I., 4, 2) is meant to *direct* (that) the subsequent (rule shall take effect), and thereby Par. XXXIX. is established.

All this, (however), is inadmissible. For there is nothing to prove that a rule extends its operation to every (individual) word (which may fall under it, only) on the alternative that a word denotes an individual, (and) not on the alternative that it denotes a genus; we see namely that in the Bhâshya[1] the alternative according to which a word denotes a genus is had recourse to for the very purpose that in such phrases as 'one should not kill a Brâhman' (the prohibition) should extend to *every* individual of the genus (Brâhman). In such phrases as 'the ox shall be bound' the object (of the binding) has accordingly[2] in the Bhâshya on P. I., 2, 64 been declared to be improper, should the word (ox) denote the genus (ox), because (in that case) the command would not (extend) to (certain) particular (oxen, but would) extend to all (oxen), while (in reality) it is impossible to bind all oxen. On the other hand, it has been stated that when (a word, such as 'ox,') denotes (individual) objects, in such expressions as 'the ox shall be bound' one (object) will be referred to in the command while another will not be referred to, because it is impossible to form a conception of *all* (individual) objects. (Kaiyaṭa's view is) further (inadmissible) because there is no proof for it that the example of (the affixes) तृच् etc.[3] which is given in the Bhâshya

1. See Bhâshya on P. I., 2, 64: धर्मशास्त्रं च तथा । एवं च कृत्वा धर्मशास्त्रं प्रवृत्तम् । ब्राह्मणो न हन्तव्यः सुरा न पेयेति ब्राह्मणमात्रं च न हन्यते सुरामात्रं च न पीयते । यदि द्रव्यं पदार्थः स्यादेकं ब्राह्मणमहत्त्वैकां च सुरामपीत्यन्यत्र कामचारः स्यात्॥

2. अत एव, जातिपक्षस्य व्यापकत्वादिवेत्यर्थः. P.

3. See above pag. 190.

holds good generally only on the alternative that a word denotes an individual, (and) not on the alternative that it denotes a genus. Moreover even on the alternative that a word denotes an individual it is quite possible to say that a certain individual (word, such as the त्रि of which the Gen. Fem. is formed) does not allow itself to be operated upon by two (rules) that are both (otherwise) effective, (*viz.*) in operating (each separately) on other individual (words), because (the two rules) would come into conflict (if that one त्रि of the Gen. Fem. did allow itself to be operated upon by both). And as regards the alternative according to which a word denotes a genus, there is nothing to determine why (a rule) should extend its operation only to certain individuals of the genus (and) not (also) to other individuals (of the same genus).

One should (then) keep in mind that of the two (examples mentioned on pag. 190) sometimes[1] the example taken from (Pâṇini's) grammar (*i. e.* the example of the affixes तृच् etc. or, in other words, Par. XL.) is had recourse to, sometimes[2] the example from ordinary life (*i. e.* the example of two equally strong men who have one messenger or, in other words, Par. XXXIX.), just as (particular) forms (that have to be formed, or the formation of which has to be accounted for, by the rules of Pâṇini's grammar,) require (the adoption of the one Paribhâshâ or the other), and that only this course which is approved of in the Bhâshya is the proper (course to adopt).

In order that the Vipratishedha-rule (P. I., 4, 2 should apply), it is only necessary that it should be impossible for two operations (either of which takes effect in the formation of some

1. *E. g.* in the case of तिसृणाम्.

2. *E. g.* in the case of भिन्द्धि.

form or forms where the other is not applicable, to take effect) simultaneously (when both apply in the formation of one and the same form). This is clear from Kaiyaṭa's (commentary) [1] on P. I., 1, 3. The following are instances :

(*a*). In (the formation of) the form in तात् of the 2. Sing. Pres. Imper. Par. of शास्, (from शास्+हि, where P. VI., 4, 35 teaches the substitution of शा for शास्, and P. VII., 1, 35 the substitution of तातङ् for हि,) the sequence of the causes of each of these substitutions (*i. e.* शास्+हि) cannot exist when both substitutions take place simultaneously [2]; (and) although it certainly does exist in consequence of the Sthânivattva of तातङ् and (of शा), yet that (Sthânivadbhâva obtains) only after the substitution (of तातङ् and of शा) but not while the latter are being substituted.

(*b*). So in (the formation of) the Nom. Plur. Neut. of प्रियकौटु (from प्रियकौटु+इ) etc. (where P. VII., 1, 72 teaches the addition of

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1. Bhâshya on P. I., 1. 3; Ed. Ballantyne pag. 265.: एवमप्ययुक्तो विप्रतिषेधः । द्विकार्ययोगो हि विप्रतिषेधः । न चात्रैको द्विकार्ययुक्तः । नावश्यं द्विकार्ययोग एव विप्रतिषेधः । किं तर्हि । असंभवोऽपि । स चास्यत्रासंभवः । कोऽसावसंभवः । इह तावद्भ्रक्षेभ्यः भ्रक्षेभ्य इत्येकः स्थानी द्वावादेशौ । न चास्ति संभवो यदेकस्य स्थानिनो द्वावादेशौ स्यातां । इहेदानीं मेद्यति मेद्यतो मेद्यन्तीति द्वौ स्थानिनावेक आदेशः । न चास्ति संभवो द्वयोः स्थानिनोरेक आदेशः स्यादित्येषोऽसंभवः । सत्येतस्मिन्नसंभवे युक्तो विप्रतिषेधः ॥

Kaiyaṭa: द्विकार्ययोग इति । द्वाभ्यां कार्याभ्यां योगो यस्य स्थानिनः स विप्रतिषेधविषयत्वाद्विप्रतिषेधः ॥ नावश्यमिति । द्विकार्ययोगत्वाभावे केवलोऽप्यसंभवो विप्रतिषेध इत्यर्थः ॥ इह तावदिति । दीर्घत्वं च यञ्यनन्तरे विधीयत एवं च ह्रस्वनन्तरे न च संभवोऽस्ति यद्वयोः स्वेनस्वेन निमित्तेनानन्तर्यं स्यात् ॥ इहेदानीमिति । भिदेरित्येका षष्ठी सा यद्यपि संबन्धे तदेकारस्य गुणेन भाव्यमथ स्थानषष्ठी तदालोऽन्त्यस्येति वचनाद्धकारस्य न चास्ति संभवो युगपदुभयोर्गुणस्येत्यर्थः ॥

2. By the substitution of तातङ्, हि would disappear; and by the substitution of शा, the base शास् would disappear.

the augment नुम् to the final उ of the base, and P. VII., 1, 95 the change of प्रियकौष्टु to प्रियकौष्टृ) both these operations cannot (take effect) simultaneously, because Par. XI. (by which प्रियकौष्टुन् would be equal to प्रियकौष्टु) would (only) be applicable after the addition of (the augment) नुम् (but not while it is being added).[1]

(*c*). (The case of the 2. Sing. Pres. Imper. Par. of भिद्) must be regarded in the same manner. In (the formation of) this form (from भिन्द्+हि namely, where P. VII., 1, 35 teaches the substitution of तातङ् for हि, and P. VI., 4, 101 that of धि for the same हि), both these substitutes cannot simultaneously take the place of the same original (हि), nor can the (same) base (भिन्द्), which is one of the causes (of either substitution, at the same time) precede (both substitutes).

(*d*). So do also (the augments) नुम् (which by P. VII., 1, 73 is added to the final of a neuter base ending in इ, उ, ऋ, [and ऌ], before a vowel-termination) and नुट् (which by P. VII., 1, 54 is prefixed to the termination आम् after a base that ends in a short vowel etc.) mutually prohibit each other (*e. g.* in the formation of the Gen. Plur. of वारि from वारि+आम्), because they cannot (be added simultaneously); for when नुट् (is prefixed to आम्, the base) ceases to be followed by a vowel-termination, (and) when नुम् (is added to वारि) the base ceases to end in a short vowel.

In some cases[2] where (the particular forms which it is) desired (to form or to account for by Pâṇini's rules) require (the

1. *Scil.* and because प्रियकौष्टृ would be termed 'Anga' by Sthânivattva only *after* the change of प्रियकौष्टु to प्रियकौष्टृ.

2. *E. g.* in the formation of the Gen. Plur. of कौष्टु, कौष्टूनाम्, where P. VII., 1, 54 teaches that नुट् shall be prefixed to the termination आम्, and P. VII., 1, 97 the optional change of कौष्टु to कौष्टृ before the vowel-termination आम्, P. VII., 1, 54 supersedes P. VII., 1, 97 although it precedes that rule. See Si. Kau. I., pag. 123; 143.

adoption of such a course), a preceding (rule) is (allowed to supersede a subsequent rule, whereas according to Par. XXXVIII. the subsequent rule should supersede the preceding rule.) Such is the case when in the preceding rule a Svarita is assigned (to that which is taught in it), because (the rule P. I., 3, 11(स्वरितेनाधिकारः) conveys the meaning that (a rule) in consequence of the Svarita has greater effect (than it would have without it, *i. e.* that it supersedes a subsequent rule, whereas without the Svarita it would have been superseded by the latter). This disposes, as appears from the Bhâshya on P. I., 3, 11, of all the cases in which a preceding rule supersedes (a subsequent rule of equal force).[1] In the Bhâshya on P. I., 4, 2 it is stated that (all) those (cases) are disposed of by the circumstance that the word पर in P. I., 4, 2 means 'desirable,' (*i. e.* that the rule P. I., 4, 2 conveys the meaning that, 'when two rules of equal force mutually prohibit each other, that rule of the two takes effect the taking effect of which is required for the formation of the correct forms of the language').

1. See Bhâshya on P. I., 3, 11: पूर्वविप्रतिषेधा न पठितव्या भवन्ति । गुणवृद्धयौत्त्वतृज्वद्भावेभ्यो नुं पूर्वविप्रतिषिद्धं नुमचिरतृज्वद्भावेभ्यो नुडिति नुम्नुटौ स्वरयिष्येते । तत्र स्वरितेनाधिकः कारो भवतीति नुम्नुटौ भविष्यतः । कथं पुनरधिकः कार इत्येतेन पूर्वविप्रतिषेधाः शक्या न पठितुम् । लोकतः । तद्यथा लोकेऽधिकमयं कारं करोतीत्युच्यते योऽयं दुर्बलः सन्बलवद्भिः सह भारं वहत्येवमिहाप्यधिकमयं कारं करोतीत्युच्यते योऽयं पूर्वैः सन्परं बाधते ॥

Kaiyata: पूर्वे इति । विप्रतिषेधे परं कार्यमिति वचनात्पूर्वो बाध्यः स्वरितत्वप्रतिज्ञानेन बाधकः संपद्यते तुल्यजातीयस्य बाधको न तु नित्यत्वादियुक्तस्य ॥

Extract from the Bhâshya[1] on P. I., 4, 2:

विप्रतिषेधे परं कार्यम् ॥ विप्रतिषेध इति कोऽयं शब्दः । विप्रतिपूर्वात्सिधेः कर्मव्यतीहारे घञ् । इतरेतरप्रतिषेधो विप्रतिषेधः । अन्योन्यप्रतिषेधो विप्रतिषेधः ॥ कः पुनर्विप्रतिषेधः । द्वौ प्रसङ्गावन्यार्थावेकस्मिन्स विप्रतिषेधः । द्वौ प्रसङ्गौ यदान्यार्थौ भवत एकस्मिंश्च युगपत्प्राप्नुतः स विप्रतिषेधः । क्व पुनरन्यार्थौ क्व चैकस्मिन्प्राप्नुतः । वृक्षाभ्यां वृक्षेष्वित्यन्यार्थौ वृक्षेभ्य इत्यत्र युगपत्प्राप्नुतः । किं च स्यात् । एकस्मिन्युगपदसंभवात्पूर्वपरप्राप्तेरुभयप्रसङ्गः । एकस्मिन्युगपदसंभवात्पूर्वस्याश्च परस्याश्च प्राप्तेरुभयप्रसङ्गः । इदं विप्रतिषिद्धं यदुच्यत एकस्मिन्युगपदसंभवात्पूर्वपरप्राप्तेरुभयप्रसङ्ग इति । कथं ह्येकस्मिन्नाम युगपदसंभवः स्यात्पूर्वस्याः परस्याश्च प्राप्तेरुभयप्रसङ्गश्च स्यात् । नैतद्विप्रतिषिद्धं यदुच्यत एकस्मिन्युगपदसंभवादिति । कार्ययोर्युगपदसंभवः शास्त्रयोरुभयप्रसङ्गः । तृजादिभिस्तुल्यम् । तृजादिभिस्तुल्यं पर्यायः प्राप्नोति । तद्यथा तृजादयः पर्यायेण भवन्ति । किं पुनः कारणं तृजादयः पर्यायेण भवन्ति । अनवयवप्रसङ्गात्प्रतिपदं विधेश्च । अनवयवेन प्रसज्यन्ते प्रतिपदं च विधीयन्ते ॥

अप्रतिपत्तिर्वोभयोस्तुल्यबलत्वात् । अप्रतिपत्तिर्वा पुनरुभयोः शास्त्रयोः स्यात् । किं कारणम् । तुल्यबलत्वात् । तुल्यबले ह्युभे शास्त्रे । तद्यथा द्वयोस्तुल्यबलयोरेकः प्रेष्यो भवति स तपोः पर्यायेण कार्यं करोति यदा तमुभौ युगपत्प्रेषयतो नानादिक्षु च कार्ये भवतस्तदा यद्यसावविरोधार्थी भवत्युभयोर्न करोति । किं पुनः कारणमुभयोर्न करोति ।

1. Extract from Kaiyaṭa on the above:

किं च स्यादिति । यदीदं नारभ्येतेति भावः ॥ इतरो व्यक्तिपदार्थाश्रयेण पर्यायप्रसङ्गमाह । एकस्मिन्निति ॥ अनवयवप्रसङ्गादिति । सर्वेष्ववयवेष्वुद्देशेन शास्त्रस्य प्रवर्तनादित्यर्थः ॥ प्रतिपदं विधेश्चेति । अनेनोत्सर्गापवादवैधर्म्यं दर्शयति । न ह्युत्सर्गः प्रतिपदं विधीयते । तत्र पर्यायप्रसङ्गे नियमार्थमिदं परमेव भवति न पूर्वमिति । एतत्सूत्रारम्भाच्च पूर्वस्य लक्षणस्य त-

यौगपद्यासंभवात्। नास्ति यौगपद्येन संभवः। तत्र प्रतिपत्त्यर्थं वचनम्। तत्र प्रतिपत्त्यर्थमिदं वक्तव्यम्॥

तव्यदादीनां त्वप्रसिद्धिः। **तव्यदादीनां तु** कार्यस्याप्रसिद्धिः। न हि किंचित्तव्यदादिषु नियमकारि शास्त्रमारभ्यते येन तव्यदादयः स्युः। यश्च भवता हेतुर्व्यपदिष्टोऽप्रतिपत्तिर्वोभयोस्तुल्यबलत्वादिति तुल्यः स तव्यदादिषु। नैष दोषः। अनवकाशास्तव्यदादय उच्यन्ते च ते वचनाद्विष्यन्ति। यश्च भवता हेतुर्व्यपदिष्टस्तृजादिभिस्तुल्यं पर्यायः प्राप्नोतीति तुल्यः स तव्यदादिषु॥

एतावदिह सूत्रं विप्रतिषेधे परमिति। पठिष्यति ह्याचार्यः। सकृद्गतौ विप्रतिषेधे यद्बाधितं तद्बाधितमेव। पुनश्च पठिष्यति। पुनःप्रसङ्गविज्ञानात्सिद्धमिति। किं पुनरियता सूत्रेणोभयं लभ्यम्। लभ्यमित्याह। कथम्। इह भवता द्वौ हेतू व्यपदिष्टौ। तृजादिभिस्तुल्यं पर्यायः प्राप्नोतीति। अप्रतिपत्तिर्वोभयोस्तुल्यबलत्वादिति च। तद्यदा तावदेष हेतुस्तृजादिभिस्तुल्यं पर्यायः प्राप्नोतीति तदा विप्रतिषेधे परमित्यनेन किं क्रियते। नियमः। विप्रतिषेधे परमेव भवतीति। तदेतदुपपन्नं भवति **सकृद्गतौ** विप्रतिषेधे यद्बाधितं तद्बाधितमेवेति। यदा त्वेष हेतुरप्रतिपत्तिर्वोभयोस्तुल्यबलत्वादिति तदा विप्रतिषेधे परमित्यनेन किं क्रियते। द्वारम्। विप्रतिषेधे परं तावद्भवति तस्मिन्कृते यदि पूर्वमपि प्राप्नोति तदपि भवति। तदेतदुपपन्नं भवति **पुनःप्रसङ्गविज्ञानात्सिद्धमिति**॥

विप्रतिषेधे परमित्युक्ताङ्गाधिकारे पूर्वमिति वक्तव्यम्। किं कृतं भवति। पूर्वविप्रतिषेधा न पठनीया भवन्ति। गुणवृद्धौत्वतृज्वद्भावेभ्यो नुं

त्वानारम्भोऽनुमीयते। तदुच्यते सकृद्गतौ विप्रतिषेधे यद्बाधितं तद्बाधितमेवेति॥ इदानीं जातिपक्षाश्रयणेनाह। अप्रतिपत्तिर्वेति। अत्र पक्षे विध्यर्थमिदं परं भवतीति तस्मिन्कृते यदि पूर्वस्य प्राप्तिनिमित्तमस्ति ततस्तदपि प्रवर्तते। तदुच्यते पुनःप्रसङ्गविज्ञानात्सिद्धमिति॥ तव्यदादीनां तु कार्यस्येति। परत्वादेः साधुत्वस्य चेत्यर्थः। एकवाक्योपात्तत्वादनवकाशत्वाच्च नास्त्येषा परत्वेन व्यवस्था॥ तृजादिभिरिति। आदिशब्दस्य प्रकारार्थत्वात्तृजा-

पूर्वविप्रतिषिद्धं नुमचिरतृज्वद्भावेभ्यो नुडिति। कथमङ्गाधिकारे ये परविप्रतिषेधाः। इत्त्वोत्त्वाभ्यां गुणवृद्धी भवतो विप्रतिषेधेनेति[1]। सूत्रं च भिद्यते। यथान्यासमेवास्तु। कथं ये पूर्वविप्रतिषेधाः। विप्रतिषेधे परमित्येव सिद्धम्। कथम्। परशब्दो ऽयं बहुर्थः। अस्त्येव व्यवस्थायां वर्तते तद्यथा पूर्वः पर इति। अस्त्यन्यार्थे वर्तते। परपुत्रः परभार्यान्यपुत्रोऽन्यभार्येति गम्यते। अस्ति प्राधान्ये वर्तते तद्यथा परमियं ब्राह्मणी। अस्मिन्कुटुम्बे प्रधानमिति गम्यते। अस्तीष्टवाची परशब्दस्तद्यथा परं धाम गत इतीष्टं धाम गत इति गम्यते। तद्य इष्टवाची परशब्दस्तस्येदं ग्रहणं विप्रतिषेधे यदिष्टं तद्भवति॥

दिभिस्तव्यदादयो न भिन्ना इत्यर्थः॥ सकृद्गताविति। यथा कुरुतात्त्वमिति हेर्लुक्च प्राप्नोति तातङ् च। परत्वात्तातङ्। तस्य स्थानिवद्भावाद्लुग्न प्रवर्तते॥ द्वारमिति। अप्रतिपत्त्यपनयनेन परशास्त्रप्रवृत्तेर्द्वारमुपायः क्रियत इति यावत्॥ पुनःप्रसङ्गविज्ञानादिति। ईजनुरिति परत्वात्संप्रसारणे कृते द्विर्वचनं भवति। लक्ष्यानुरोधेन च व्यक्त्याकृतिपदार्थाश्रयणादनयोः परिभाषयोः विषयविभागोऽवसेयः॥ तद्य इष्टवाचीति। इष्टानिष्टविभागश्च व्याख्यानाद्बोद्धव्यः॥

1. See Si. Kau. II., pag. 100; 129.

PARIBHÂSHÂ XLI.

(In the formation of the Present tense of एध्, from एध्+तिङ् [for लट्] two rules apply simultaneously, *viz.* P. I., 3, 12 which teaches that only the affixes called Âtmanepada shall be substituted for ल् after a root distinguished by a gravely accented indicatory vowel etc., and P. III., 1, 68 which teaches that the Vikaraṇa शप् shall be placed after a root when a Sârvadhâtuka affix follows which denotes an agent). Now one might say that (if) then (a subsequent rule by Par. XXXVIII. always supersedes a preceding

rule of equal force except in those particular cases where there is a Pûrvavipratishedha), the Vikaraṇa (श्नु which is taught in P. III., 1, 68) ought in (the formation of) the Present tense of एध् etc. (to be added to the root before the taking effect of the restrictive rule P. I., 3, 12) because (the rule which teaches its addition) follows upon (the latter rule); and further, that after the addition of the Vikaraṇa a restrictive rule like P. I., 3, 12 would no longer be applicable because (तिङ्, the substitute for लट्,) would be separated (from the root) by the (Vikaraṇa. The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore:

P. XLI: A restrictive rule possesses greater force than (rules which teach the addition of) Vikaraṇas, (and it accordingly takes effect before the latter).[1]

The fact that (Pâṇini) teaches by his rule I., 3, 92 that the Parasmaipada-terminations[2] may optionally be (substituted for लृ after the roots वृत् etc.), when स्य follows[3] (those roots), indicates (the existence of) this (Paribhâshâ. If), on the other hand, (the Paribhâshâ did not exist, the Vikaraṇa स्य would be added to the roots वृत् etc. first, and subsequently) the rule (P. I., 3, 12) which restricts (वृत् etc. to the Âtmanepada) would not be applicable because (लृ) would be separated (from वृत् etc.) by (the

1. Accordingly the rule P. I., 3, 12 which restricts एध् to the Âtmanepada takes effect first; afterwards the Vikaraṇa श्नु is added to एध् before the terminations ते etc.

2. अतद्विधानम्, *i. e.* परस्मैपदविधानम्; the object in dividing thus is to show that P. I., 3, 92 is a rule which does away with a prohibition, *viz.* with the restrictive rule P. I., 3, 12. (एवमुक्तः फलं तु तस्य प्रतिप्रसवविधिसूत्रनम्) P.

3. स्ये *scil.* परतः. P.

Vikaraṇa) स्य; (the substitution of) both (the Parasmaipada and the Âtmanepada-terminations for लृ) would in that case follow from the general rule (P. III., 4, 78), and it would consequently be superfluous to teach (in I., 3, 92) the optional (substitution of the Parasmaipada-terminations for लृ). But after the substance of the above (Paribhâshâ) has once been indicated (by P. I., 3, 92) the Locative of स्य in that (rule) must be taken to mean, 'wherever स्य may be added (to वृत् etc. at some time or other,' and not 'when स्य follows upon वृत् etc.,' just because according to the Paribhâshâ the restrictive rule I., 3, 12 takes effect before the addition of स्य.[1] All) this is found in the Bhâshya and Kaiyaṭa's (commentary) on P. I., 3, 12. In the Bhâshya on P. I., 3, 60[2] it is suggested that the same (rule P. I., 3, 92) indicates that a restrictive rule takes effect even though (तिङ् or लृ) be separated (from the root) by a Vikaraṇa.

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1. If स्ये in P. I., 3, 92 were explained by 'when स्य follows upon वृत् etc.,' then I., 3, 92 would not do away with the restrictive rule I., 3, 12 because this rule takes effect before the addition of स्य to वृत् etc.

2. *Viz.* in the discussion on the Vârttika उपसर्गपूर्वनियमेऽङ्ग्रहाय उपसंख्यानम् (उपसर्गपूर्वनियमेऽङ्ग्रहाय उपसंख्यानं कर्तव्यम् । न्यविशत व्यक्रीणीत ।) it is said तत्र खलु लादेशे त्रीणि कार्याणि युगपत्प्राप्नुवन्ति । विकरणा अडागमो नियम इति । तत्रादि सर्वतो नियमो लभ्येत कृतं स्यात्तन्नु नलभ्यम् ।; hereon Kaiyaṭa comments thus: ननु पूर्वमेव ज्ञापकाद्विकरणेभ्यो नियमस्य बलीयस्त्वं साधितं तत्किमुच्यते तन्नु न लभ्यमिति । उच्यते । अन्यथापि तज्ज्ञापकं समर्थयितुं शक्यते । कृतोऽपि विकरणो न व्यवधायक इति ।।

P. 'On P. I., 3, 60 the Vârttika उपसर्गपूर्व° is given. This Vârttika would be superfluous if the present Paribhâshâ were adopted; for in that case the restrictive rule P. I., 3, 17 would in the formation *e. g.* of the Imperf. of नि विश् (from नि+विश्+तिङ् [for लङ्] where the three rules I., 3, 17; III., 1, 77; and VI., 4, 71 apply) take effect first; then the Vikaraṇa-rule III., 1, 77 would take effect because it is *nitya*, and final-

In reality[1] the true state of the case is as follows. The above Jnâpaka-(rule P. I., 3, 92) proves that P. I., 3, 12 and the following rules on the same subject (do not, as was assumed before, contain a restriction, but) unite with the (general) rule P. III., 4, 78 so as to form together with it one rule.[2] Now the Ablative धातोः (which in that general rule is valid from P. III., 1, 91) means there धातोर्विहितस्य (*viz.* लस्य, *i. e.* 'in the place of the ल्) which, as is taught (elsewhere), is placed after a root;' consequently (the Ablative) अनुदात्तङितः in P. I., 3, 12 etc., which stands in apposition to (धातोः), must like (the latter) qualify (the ल्) which, as is taught (elsewhere), is placed after a root, (or in other words, we have to explain: 'Let those terminations which will be termed Âtmanepada come in the place of ल् which, as has been taught elsewhere, is placed after a root, provided the latter be distinguished by a gravely accented indicatory

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ly the Adâgama-rule VI., 4, 71. Now, however, the Jnâpaka-rule I., 3, 92 is made to indicate, not the existence of the present Paribhâshâ, but the fact 'that a restrictive rule takes effect even though (तिङ् or ल्) be separated (from the root) by a Vikarana;' accordingly the Vikarana-rule III., 1, 77 takes effect first because it is both *para* and *nitya*; subsequently the Adâgama-rule VI., 4, 71 takes effect because it is *nitya*. Afterwards the Niyama-rule I., 3, 17 would take effect notwithstanding that the Vikarana श्ना separates the root from तिङ्, if the augment अट् did not separate the root विश् from the preposition नि, and therefore the Vârttika उपसर्गपूर्व° becomes necessary. In the above no regard has been paid to the maxim लावस्थायामाट्.' See pag. 62.

1. Nâgojibhaṭṭa now proceeds to give (from वस्तुतः—तत्त्वम्) the real opinion of the author of the Bhâshya, which is stated in the Bhâshya on P. I., 3, 12 in the words यदि पुनरियं परिभाषा विज्ञायेत etc; परिभाषा means there 'like a Paribhâshâ.' P.

2. The Vidhyekavâkyatâ is as follows: धातोर्लस्य स्थाने निवादयो भवन्ति ते चानुदात्तङितो लस्य स्थाने तादृशा भवन्ति येषां जातानामात्मनेपदसंज्ञा भवति P.

vowel etc'). And thus the presence of the Âtmanepada-terminations (in एधिष्यते etc.) is accounted for even on the alternative that स्य is added to the root which ल् is still present (*i. e.* before the personal terminations have been substituted), and notwithstanding that (ल्) is separated (from the root) by स्य. As regards (the Vikaraṇas श्नम् etc, the so-called) restrictive rules (P. I., 3, 12 etc.) always take effect before the addition of श्नम् etc. (because according to P. III., 1, 68 etc. श्नम् etc. are added to a root after the terminations तिप् etc. have been substituted for ल्). Or,[1] (so far as the Vikaraṇas स्य etc. are concerned, one may say that) the substitutes (तिप् etc.) are *antaranga* because (their substitution) depends on (the presence of) ल् only, and that स्य etc. are *bahiranga* (and therefore to be considered as absent so far as regards the substitution of तिप् etc.) because (the addition of स्य etc.) depends on (the presence of) the letter ल् specified (by such other letters as ऋ etc.); and (on this assumption) there would be nothing wrong were one to explain the Ablative (धातोः etc.) in accordance with P. II., 3, 29 (by 'in the place of ल् which follows upon a root,' *viz.* because the personal terminations would be substituted while स्य etc. are still absent). On this (second) alternative the rule P. I., 3, 92 (or rather the Locative of स्य in that rule) must be explained

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1. P: कैयटानुरोधेनाह। लमात्रेति ॥ वस्तुतस्त्वत्र मात्रशब्देन परनिमित्तमयत्ववच्छेदः। तथा चापरनिमित्तकत्वादित्यर्थः ॥ श्नादेशाः। लादेशाः ॥ लकारेति। लकाररूपी यो विशेषः परस्तदपेक्षत्वादित्यर्थः। परनिमित्तकत्वादिति यावत् ॥; see pag. 47 of the text. The substitutes तिप् etc., are *antaranga* because their substitution is not caused by anything that follows upon the ल् for which they are substituted; the Vikaraṇas स्य etc. are *bahiranga* because their addition is caused by the following लृ etc.; (धातोः स्यतासी स्यो लृलुटोः परयोः).

'wherever स्य is added (to वृत् etc. at some time or other'.[1] When, as was stated above, the rules P. I., 3, 12 etc. form one rule together with the general rule P. III., 4, 78, then) the words Âtmanepada' etc. must be considered to denote (those terminations) which at some future time, (*viz.* when the substitution of the personal terminations for ल् has taken place,) will be termed (Âtmanepada etc).

If,[2] on the other hand, one treats (the general rule P. III., 4, 78 and such rules as P. I., 3, 12 etc.) as separate rules and (accordingly) makes (the rules P. I., 3, 12 etc.) restrict the (terminations तिप् etc. the substitution of which for ल् is) directed by the general rule (P. III., 4, 78), then one must assume that (certain forms) which (previously) had been formed are by the restriction abolished in the same manner in which (certain forms are abolished) by (the substitution of) लुक् etc.— The maxim (from ordinary life) which is expressed in the words 'what would one gain by saying to a person who *has* eaten, "do not eat", cannot fitly be admitted here, in grammar, because it would deprive restrictive and other[3] rules of all meaning. This is suggested in the Bhâshya on P. I., 1, 50;[4] on the other

1. *Viz.* because स्य etc. are absent while the personal terminations are being substituted for ल्.

2. P.: In order to show the correctness of the view which is expressed in the words वस्तुतः—तत्त्वम्, Nâgojibhaṭṭa proceeds now (in the words भिन्नवाक्यतया—गौरवम्) to mention the faults which the two first views (विकरणेभ्यो नियमो बलीयान्, and विकरणव्यवधानेऽपि etc.) involve.

3. *E. g.* prohibitory rules (*Nishedhas*).

4. *Viz.* by the word वा of उक्तं वा in the Bhâshya, Ed. Ballantyne pag. 576. On pag. 574 the question is raised whether the rule स्थाने ऽन्तरतमः teaches certain substitutes independently of other rules, or is a restrictive rule concerning substitutes that would result from other rules,

hand, (the opinion) that a rule may possibly be meaningless, has been refuted in the Bhâshya[1] on P. I., 1, 1.—When then by the general rule (P. III., 4, 78 eighteen terminations) take the place (of ल्), this necessitates the formation of as many bases (*viz.* of one base for each termination) in the manner indicated by Kaiyaṭa on P. I., 2, 64[2] in accordance with which

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and accordingly merely supplements these other rules. In the discussion on the second alternative (pag. 575) it is stated that on the adoption of this alternative not only the correct but also incorrect forms would be formed, because it would be impossible for the rule स्थानेऽन्तरतमः to abolish certain forms if they had once been formed by other rules; this argument is supported by the Loka-nyâya यो हि भुक्तवन्तम् etc. (Bhâshya: इष्टा व्यवस्था न प्रकल्पेत । न सर्वे सर्वेलेष्यन्ते । इदमिदानीं किमर्थं स्यात् । अनर्थकं च । अनर्थकमेतत्स्यात् । यो हि भुक्तवन्तं ब्रूयान्मा भुक्था इति किं तेन कृतं स्यात् ॥

Kaiyaṭa: इष्टा व्यवस्थेति । अकः सवर्णे दीर्घ इत्यनेन लक्षणेन यदा सर्वे दीर्घाः कृतास्तदा तेषां साधुत्वं विज्ञातं न चानेन तेषामेवासाधुत्वं शक्यं प्रतिपादयितुमिति भावः ॥).

This is refuted on pag. 576:

Bhâshya: उक्तं वा । किमुक्तम् । सिद्धं तु षष्ठ्यधिकारे वचनादिति । षष्ठ्यधिकारेऽयं योगः कर्तव्यः । स्थानेऽन्तरतमः षष्ठीनिर्दिष्टस्येति ॥

Kaiyaṭa: उक्तं वेति । इको गुणवृद्धी इत्यत्र । यत्र षष्ठी तत्रेदमुपतिष्ठते तेनैकवाक्यतानेन सूत्रेण विधिवाक्यानामिति विधानकाल एवान्तरतम आदेशो विधीयते ॥

Nâgojibhaṭṭa: आनर्थक्यं परिहरति । उक्तं वेति ॥ द्वितीयपक्षाद्वेदमुपपादयति । एकवाक्यतेति ॥ एवं चेतरस्यविधानमेवेतीष्टव्यवस्थासिद्धिरिति भावः । परे तूत्सन्नानामनेन निवृत्तिर्लुगादिनेवेति भावः । एतदाशयमजानान आह । निवृत्तिर्न सिध्यति (pag. 575) इति । तदभ्युपेत्य समाधत्ते । उक्तं वेति । भुक्तवतो भोजनफलतृप्तेर्जातत्वान्निवेशस्य वैयर्थ्येऽपि शास्त्रे वृद्धिरादिच्सूलभाष्योक्तशास्त्रप्रामाण्यात्लुगादिनेव जातनिवृत्तिरिति वाशब्देन सूचनामित्याहुः ॥

P. The word वा indicates that the Loka-nyâya is not adopted in grammar; for, if वा did not do so, it would be superfluous because no alternative (which वा might denote) is mentioned in the Bhâshya.

1. See Bhâshya Ed. Ballantyne pag. 219: प्रमाणभूत आचार्यो दर्भपवित्रपाणिः शुचावकाशे प्राङ्मुख उपविश्य महता प्रयत्नेन सूत्राणि प्रणयति स्म । तत्राशक्यं वर्णेनाप्यनर्थकेन भवितुं किं पुनरियता सूत्रेण ॥

2. For there Kaiyaṭa comments on the Bhâshya यथैव बहवो यत्र:

that which is subservient must be repeated as many times as that to which it is subservient, and when a termination is (by a restriction) abolished, this necessitates also the abolishment of the base which had been formed for it. This (shows that this whole view) is too cumbrous (to be maintained). More[1] elsewhere.

(in the sense of 'many descendants [expressed by the affix यञ्] of one Garga') एवं प्रकृतयोऽपि बहुत्वः स्युः thus: एकैकस्यापत्यस्य प्रकृत्यर्थेन योगात्प्रधानभेदे च गुणावृत्त्या गार्ग्यशब्दानामेवैकशेषः क्रियत इत्यर्थः. The base गर्ग has to be repeated as many times as there are affixes यञ्; as the rule teaches the addition of यञ् to गर्ग, the latter is subservient to the former; it is *guṇa* while यञ् is *pradhâna*. Cf. also pag. 9, note 1.—P. adds: किंचैकस्मादनेकेषां परत्वासंभवादित्यपि बोध्यम्.

1. P. But if we say that in consequence of the Niyama the (prohibited) personal terminations are never substituted at all, then the two views which have been mentioned first (before वस्तुतः) are likewise faultless. Therefore Nâgojibhaṭṭa concludes with 'more elsewhere' viz. in the Uddyota etc.

Extract from the Bhâshya[1] on P. I., 3, 12:

किमर्थं पुनरिदमुच्यते । आत्मनेपदवचनं नियमार्थम् । **नियमार्थो** ऽयमारम्भः । किमुच्यते नियमार्थोऽयमिति न पुनर्विध्यर्थोऽपि स्यात् । लविधानाद्विहितम् । लविधानाद्ध्यात्मनेपदं परस्मैपदं च विहितम् । अस्ति प्रयोजनमेतत् । किं तर्हीति । विकरणैस्तु व्यवहितत्वान्नियमो न

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1. Kaiyaṭa: किमर्थमिति । किं विहितानां लादेशानामनेन नियमः क्रियतेऽथ वाक्यैकवाक्यतया विधिरिति प्रश्नः ॥ नियमार्थ इति । एकवाक्यतायां भाविनी संज्ञाश्रयणीयेति वाक्यभेद एवाश्रीयते तेन नियमोऽयं संपद्यते ॥ परत्वादिति । विकरणानामवकाशोऽलादेशाश्रयानाश्रयौ नियमस्यावकाशौ लिङ्लिटावार्धधातुकसंज्ञौ स्यबेन इत्यादावुभयप्रसङ्गे परत्वाद्विकरणास्तेन व्यवधानान्नियमाप्रसङ्गः ॥ अनवकाश इति । सर्वत्र विकरणानां व्यवधा-

प्राप्नोति । इदमिह संप्रधार्यं विकरणाः क्रियन्तां नियम इति किमत्र कर्तव्यम् । परत्वाद्विकरणाः । नित्याः खल्वपि विकरणाः । कृतेऽपि नियमे प्राप्नुवन्त्यकृतेऽपि प्राप्नुवन्ति । नित्यत्वाच्च परत्वाच्च विकरणेषु कृतेषु विकरणैर्व्यवहितत्वान्नियमो न प्राप्नोति । नैष दोषः । अनवकाशो नियमः । सावकाशाः । कोऽवकाशः । य एते लुग्विकरणाश्च श्लुविकरणाश्च लिङ्लिटौ च ॥ यदि पुनरियं परिभाषा विज्ञायेत । किं कृतं भवति । कार्यकालं संज्ञापरिभाषं यत्र कार्यं तत्र द्रष्टव्यम् । लस्य तिबादयो भवन्तीत्युपस्थितमिदं भवत्यनुदात्तङित आत्मनेपदं शेषात्कर्तरि परस्मैपदमिति । एवमपीतरेतराश्रयं भवति । केतरेतराश्रयता । अभिनिर्वृत्तानां लस्य स्थाने तिबादीनामात्मनेपदपरस्मैपदसंज्ञया भवितव्यं संज्ञया च तिबादयो भाव्यन्ते तदितरेतराश्रयं भवति । इतरेतराश्रयाणि च कार्याणि न प्रकल्पन्ते । परस्मैपदेषु तावन्नेतरेतराश्रयं भवति । परस्मैपदानुक्रमणं न करिष्यते । अवश्यं कर्तव्यम् । अनुपराभ्यां कृञः [१. ३. ७९] इत्येवमर्थम् । ननु चैतदप्यात्मनेपदानुक्रमण एव करिष्यते । स्वरितञितः कर्त्रभिप्राये क्रियाफल आत्मनेपदं भवति कर्तर्यनुपराभ्यां कृञो नेति ॥ आत्मनेपदेषु चापि नेतरेतराश्रयं भवति । कथम् । भाविनी संज्ञा विज्ञास्यते सूत्रशाटकवत् । तद्यथा कश्चित्कंचित्तन्तुवायमाहास्य सूत्रस्य शाटकं वयेति स पश्यति यदि शाटको न वातव्योऽथ वातव्यो न शाटकः शाटको वातव्यश्चेति विप्रतिषिद्धं

यकत्वादिति भावः ॥ यदि पुनरिति । आत्मनेपदपरस्मैपदाभ्यां लिङ्लाभ्यामिदं प्रकरणं लादेशविधावुपतिष्ठते । तत्र महावाक्येन विहितेषु लादेशेषु विकरणा इति दीर्घाभावः । स्यादिषु कथं ते हि लावस्थायामेव विधीयन्त इति तैर्व्यवधानान्नियमो न प्राप्नोति । उच्यते । लमात्रापेक्षत्वादन्तरङ्गत्वाल्लादेशेषु कृतेषु लकारविशेषापेक्षया बहिरङ्गाः स्यादयो भविष्यन्ति येननाप्राप्तिन्यायेन शबादीन्बाधित्वा शबादिविधावनुवर्तनाद्वा ॥ एवमपीति । एकवाक्यतापक्षे विहिता लादेशा न सन्ति येन तेषां सतामात्मनेपदपरस्मैपदसंज्ञे स्यातां तनश्चैतत्परिभाषोपस्थाने सति संज्ञाश्रयं लादेशविधानं लादेशविधानाश्रया च संज्ञेति भावः ॥ परस्मैपदानुक्रमणी-

भाविनी खल्वस्य संज्ञाभिप्रेता स मन्ये वक्तव्यो यस्मिन्नुते शाटक इत्येतद्भवतीत्येवमिहापि स लस्य स्थाने कर्तव्यो यस्याभिनिर्वृत्तस्यात्मनेपदमित्येषा संज्ञा भविष्यति ॥ अथवा पुनरस्तु नियमः । ननु चोक्तं विकरणैर्व्यवहितत्वान्नियमो न प्राप्नोति । नैष दोषः । आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति विकरणेभ्यो नियमो बलीयानिति यदयं विकरणविधावात्मनेपदपरस्मैपदान्याश्रयति पुषादिद्युताद्ल्लृदितः परस्मैपदेषु [३. १. ५५] आत्मनेपदेष्वन्यतरस्याम् [५४] इति । नैतदस्ति ज्ञापकम् । अभिनिर्वृत्तानि हि लस्य स्थान आत्मनेपदानि परस्मैपदानि च । यत्तर्ह्यनुपसर्गाद्वा [१. ३. ४३] इति विभाषां शास्ति ॥

मिति । नन्वसति परस्मैपदानुक्रमणे परस्मैपदमनुदात्तङिद्वचः प्राप्नोति । नैष दोषः । आत्मनेपदसंबन्धावगमेन तेषां परस्मैपदसंबन्धबाधनाच्छेषादेव परस्मैपदमवस्थास्यते ॥ अवश्यमिति । आत्मनेपदबाधनार्थमित्यर्थः ॥ यदयमिति । कृतनियमानामसंकरेण स्थितानां हि निमित्तभावोपपत्तिः ॥ अभिनिर्वृत्तानीति । प्रागपि नियमात्तेषां संभवमात्रेण निमित्तत्वाविरोधात् ॥ यत्तर्हीति । एतत्तु लिङ्लिङर्थे स्यात् । चक्रमे चक्राम क्रम्यात् क्रंसीष्टेति । तस्माज्ज्ञापकदिवप्रदर्शिता भाष्यकृता । ज्ञापकं तु वृद्धचः स्यसनोः [१. ३. ९२] इत्यत्र स्ये विकल्पविधानम् ॥

PARIBHÂSHÂ XLII.

(A rule which is) *nitya* possesses (greater) force than a subsequent (rule which is not *nitya*),[1] because it would apply if

1. This we know already from the general Paribhâshâ XXXVIII., and परान्नित्यं बलवत् should therefore not have been printed as a separate Paribhâshâ; the real Par. XLII. is कृताकृतप्रसङ्गि नित्यं तद्विपरीतमनित्यम्.—Par. XLII. defines the terms *nitya* and *anitya*; in Par. XLIII., XLIV., and XLV. the general definition of the term *nitya*, as given in Par. XLII. is restricted, and it is shown that certain rules or operations which by Par. XLII. would be *nitya*, must nevertheless be regarded as *anitya*. Occasionally, however, the restrictions contained in Par. XLIII.—XLV. are

(the subsequent rule) were to have taken effect and applies when (the latter) does not take effect. The reason[1] why that (rule) of the two which is *nitya* possesses greater force (than the subsequent rule which is not *nitya*) is this, that in preference to making that not take place which (without interference on our part) would take place under any circumstances, we decidedly ought to make that (not take place) which under certain circumstances would really not take place. This (the author of the Paribhâshâs) expresses (thus):

P. XLII: (A rule) which would apply if (another rule that applies simultaneously,) were to have taken effect, and which applies when (that other rule) does not take effect, is *nitya*; (a rule) with which such is not the case, is not *nitya*.

Accordingly, in the Pres. Ind. of तुद् etc. the affixes श etc. (which are taught in P. III., 1, 77 etc.) have, because they are *nitya*, superseded (the substitution of) Guṇa (for the penultimate

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disregarded, and the general definition of the term *nitya*, as given in Par. XLII., is therefore repeated in Par. XLVI. Subsequently, Par. XLVII. guards against too narrow an acceptation of the expression कृताकृतप्रसङ्गमात्र in Par. XLVI., while Par. XLVIII., on the contrary, states that कृताकृतप्रसङ्गमात्र occasionally must be taken in the very sense against which we were guarded by Par. XLVII. Finally, Par. XLIX contains a further restriction of the general definition of the term *nitya* which it was unnecessary to mention because it is contained already in Par. XLIII.

1. P. कृताकृतप्रसङ्गित्वस्य बलवत्त्वप्रयोजकत्वं न वाचनिकं किंतु युक्तिसिद्धमित्याह तत्रेति । परनित्ययोर्मध्य इत्यर्थः ॥ नक्कल्पनमिति । अभावकल्पनमित्यर्थः ॥ उचितमिति। उपस्थितलाघवादिति भावः ॥

उ etc.), notwithstanding that the latter is (taught in the) subsequent (rule P. VII., 3, 86.).[1]

PARIBHÂSHÂ XLIII.

In order to intimate that (a rule) can be said to apply both when (another rule) has taken effect and before (that other rule) takes effect, (or, in other words, can be said to be *nitya*), only, when the particular wordform in reference to which (it teaches something) is exactly the same when it is applied again (*i. e.* after the taking effect of the other rule), as it was when

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1. Examples: *a*) नुदति.

नुद्+तिप् P. III., 1, 77 Vikarana श before Sârvadhâtuka; (*nitya*).
P. VII., 3, 86 Guna for penultim. उ before Sârvadhâtuka; (*para*, but *anitya*).

P. III., 1, 77 applies before the substitution of Guna for उ, and it would apply also if Guna were substituted for उ and if नुद् were accordingly changed to नोद्. On the other hand, P. VII., 3, 86 applies before श is added to नुद्, but after the addition of श to नुद् Guna could not by P. VII., 3, 86 be substituted for उ, because the latter would have ceased to be penultimate. Accordingly, P. III., 1, 77 is *nitya*, and P. VII., 3, 86 *anitya*; III., 1, 77 takes therefore effect first (नुद्+ति) and subsequently VII., 3, 86 is no longer applicable.

b.) रुणद्धि Si. Kau. II., pag. 158:

रुध्+तिप् P. III., 1, 78 Vikarana श्म् before Sârvadhâtuka; (*nitya*).
P. VII, 3, 86 Guna for penultim. उ before Sârvadhâtuka; (*para*, but *anitya*).

c.) धिनवाव Si. Kau. II., pag. 70:

धिनु+व P. III., 4, 92 आ prefixed to व; (*nitya*).
P. VI., 4, 107 optional Lopa of उ before व; (*para*, but *anitya*).

it was applied first (*i. e.* before the other rule had taken effect, the author of the Paribhâshâs) says :

P. XLIII : When the wordform in reference to which a rule teaches something (after the taking effect of another rule that applies simultaneously) would be different (from what it was before that other rule had taken effect), then the (former) rule is not *nitya*.

This is found in the Bhâshya on the rule P. I., 3, 60; for there[1] it is stated that in (the formation of) न्यविशत (the addition of the augment) अट् is (by the present Paribhâshâ) not *nitya*, *viz.* because after the addition of the Vikaraṇa (श to विश् the augment) अट् would have to be prefixed to that which ends with the Vikaraṇa (*i. e.* to विश), whereas, before the addition of the Vikaraṇa, (the augment) अट् would be prefixed to the root (विश्) only.

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1. Bhâshya on P. I., 3, 60: एवं तर्हीदमिह संप्रधार्यमट् क्रियतां विकरणा इति किमत्र कर्तव्यम् । परत्वादडागमो नित्या विकरणाः कृतेऽप्यटि प्राप्नुवन्त्यकृतेऽपि । अडपि नित्यः कृतेष्वपि विकरणेषु प्राप्नोत्यकृतेष्वपि प्राप्नोति । अनित्योऽट् । अन्यस्य कृतेषु विकरणेषु प्राप्नोत्यन्यस्याकृतेषु शब्दान्तरस्य च प्राप्नुवन्विप्रतिषेधेनित्यो भवति ॥

Kaiyaṭa: शब्दान्तरस्येति । विकरणास्तु शब्दान्तरादपि प्राप्नुवन्तो नानित्याः ॥ The addition of the Vikaraṇa श is taught in P. III., 1, 77; the augment अट् in P. VI., 4, 71; here P. VI., 4, 71 is regarded as *anitya*, because before the addition of the Vikaraṇa the augment would have to be prefixed to विश्, and after its addition, to विश. On the other hand, P. III., 1, 77 is, against Par. XLIV., (but in accordance with Par. XLVI.,) regarded as *nitya*, although श before the addition of the augment would have to be added to विश्, and after its addition, to अविश्.—See also note 2 on pag. 202.

PARIBHÂSHÂ XLIV.

(The author of the Paribhâshâs also) gives (the following Paribhâshâ which is based) on the same maxim on which the preceding (Paribhâshâ was based) :[1]

P. XLIV : When the wordform after which (a rule) should take effect, or the wordform before which (a rule) should take effect, (after the taking effect of another rule that applies simultaneously), would be different (from what it was before that other rule had taken effect), then (the former rule) is not *nitya*.[2]

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1. P. तुल्यन्यायेनेति । प्रागुक्तवचनमूलभूतयुक्तितुल्यतयेत्यर्थः । यद्वृक्तिसंबन्धिनया पूर्वं प्रवृत्तिस्तद्वृक्तिसंबन्धित्वेनाप्राप्या कृताकृतप्रसङ्गित्वाभाव इति प्रागुक्ते वचने मूलं तच्च शब्दान्तरात्प्रागुक्तदादावपि तुल्यमिति भावः ॥

2. In the Mahâbhâshya I have found this Paribhâshâ nowhere, and Pâyagunda gives no examples for it. Bhairavamis'ra says : आद्योदाहरणं मा भवानुजिहदिति । अत्र ह्रूहेर्णिचि ऊढि चङि शब्दान्तरात्प्रागुक्तो नित्याद्धित्वात्पूर्वं परत्वेन णौ चङीत्युपधाह्रस्वत्वस्य प्रवृत्तिर्भवति ॥

ऊहि+चङ्+लुङ् P. VI., 1, 11 reduplication of हि;
P. VII., 4, 1 substitution of उ for ऊ.

Here P. VI., 1, 11 is *anitya*, because before the taking effect of P. VII., 4, 1 the reduplication of हि would take place after ऊ, while after the taking effect of P. VII., 4, 1, it takes place after उ. P. VII., 4, 1 takes therefore effect first, because it is *para*.

यदि तु णौ चङीति सूत्रभाष्योक्तया यदयमौणिमृदितं करोति तज्ज्ञापयत्याचार्यो द्वित्वेचनाद्ध्रस्वत्वं बलीय इति रीत्या कृताकृतप्रसङ्गित्वेन द्वित्वस्य नित्यत्वेऽपि ह्रस्वत्वस्य पूर्वं प्रवृत्तिरित्युच्यते तदा च्यवन्ते प्लवन्त इत्युदाहरणं बोध्यम् । अत्र हि गुणे कृते शब्दान्तरात्प्रागुक्तेन एकादेशस्यानित्यत्वात्पूर्वं गुणो भवति । अन्यथैकादेशे ङिति निषेधः स्यात् ॥

PARIBHÂSHÂ XLV.

(The author of the Paribhâshâs also) states (the following) which is founded entirely on the preceding :[1]

च्यु+शप्+अन्ते P. VI., 1, 97 substitution of the अ of अन्ते for the अ of शप् and the अ of अन्ते;

P. VII., 3, 84 Guna for उ before शप्.

If VI., 1, 97 were *nitya*, it would take effect first; subsequently अन्ते would be ङित् by P. I., 2, 4, and Guna forbidden by P. I., 1, 5.

अत्राप्यचः परस्मिन्निति स्थानिवद्भावस्य निषेधे कर्तव्ये प्रवृत्तिरिति चेदुच्यते तदा नेर्विश इति सूत्रस्थस्य न्यविशतेत्यत्र विकरणान्तस्यापि कृते विशेर्नेः परत्वाभावान्नियमानुपपत्तावुपसर्गनियमे ऽङ्ङुत्वाय उपसंख्यानमिति यद्वार्त्तिकं तस्योक्तिसंभव एवैतस्याः प्रयोजनम् ॥

Cf. note 2 on pag. 202. Before the augment अट् is prefixed to विश, the Niyama P. I., 3, 17 would take effect after विश, but when अट् has been prefixed to विश, P. I., 3, 17 would have to take effect after अविश, and it is therefore *anitya*. The present Paribhâshâ as well as the Vârttika उपसर्गपूर्वनियमे become unnecessary as soon as Par. XLI. is adopted.

द्वितीयोदाहरणं तु करिष्यते हरिष्यत इत्यादि । अत्र हि शब्दान्तरे प्राप्तुवतो विकरणस्थानित्यत्वाच्छादेशे स्वरितञितः [१.३.७२] इत्यनेन कृतेऽस्य प्रवृत्तिः । अन्यथा कृते विकरणे ञितः परत्वाभावान्नियमो न स्यात् ॥

कृञ् + लृट् P. I., 3, 72 substitution for लृट् of the Âtmanepada-terminations only.

P. III., 1, 33, addition of स्य to कृञ् before लृट्. This latter rule is *anitya* because, so long as P. I., 3, 72 does not take effect, it would have to take effect before लृट्, and after the taking effect of P. I., 3, 72, before ते etc.; P. I., 3, 72 takes therefore effect first. In this instance the present Paribhâshâ is likewise rendered superfluous by Par. XLI. and by the remarks which have been made on that Paribhâshâ.

As all the examples which are given by Bhairavamis'ra can be explained without the present Paribhâshâ, we conclude with the remark of Râghavendrâchârya: शब्दान्तरादीनामनन्यथासिद्धानि फलानि मृग्याणि.

1. P. एतदिति । उक्तपरिभाषाद्वयमूलकमेवेत्यर्थः । एवेनापूर्वत्वनिरासः ॥

P. XLV: A rule (which applies both before and after the taking effect of another rule that applies simultaneously), is (nevertheless) not *nitya*, when (after the taking effect of that other rule) it would take effect in consequence of (the existence of) some (third) rule (without which it would no longer apply).

This (Paribhâshâ) is mentioned by Kaiyaṭa on P. VI., 4, 22 where (an operation) is (by P. I., 1, 62) transferred (from the affix उ to the Lopa substituted for it).[1]

1. Kaiyaṭa on P. VI., 4, 22: नित्यत्वात्पूर्वमुकारलोपः पश्चाद्गुणः । कृते ह्युकारलोपे प्रत्ययलक्षणमिति गुणेन भाव्यं तनो लक्षणान्तरेण च प्राङ्नुबन्धिविरनित्य इति गुणस्यानित्यत्वम् ॥

कृ+उ+नः; P. VI., 4, 108 Lopa of उ before नु;

P. VII., 3, 84 Guna for ऋ before उ.

The latter rule is *anitya* because after the substitution of Lopa for उ Guna can be substituted for ऋ only in consequence of P. I., 1, 62 प्रत्ययलोपे प्रत्ययलक्षणम्. First, Lopa is substituted for उ by P. VI., 4, 108; afterwards Guna for ऋ by P. VII., 3, 84; thus we obtain कर्+नः; subsequently उ is substituted for the अ of कर् by P. VI., 4, 110, because the substitution of Lopa for उ which is taught in P. VI. 4, 108 is by P. VI., 4, 22 *asiddha* in regard to P. VI., 4, 110.

PARIBHÂSHÂS XLVI.—XLVIII.

But[1] when (the author of the Paribhâshâs), without (paying any regard to) the rules, considers merely whether the opera-

1. In the remarks on Par. XLII. it has been stated that in the formation of नुदति from नुद्+ति the Vikaraṇa-rule is *nitya* because it applies both before and after the substitution of Guna for उ. Now, how-

tions that are enjoined by them are *nitya* or not, and when he moreover does not concern himself (with the question) whether particular wordforms would or would not be the same (before and after the taking effect of another operation that applies simultaneously),[1] then he says:

P. XLVI: Occasionally[2] (it) also (happens that an operation) is *nitya* solely because it would apply if (another operation that applies simultaneously) were to have taken effect, and applies when (that other operation) does not take effect.

The fact is that, should (an operation) which is suspected to be *nitya*, apply again after the taking effect of a second (operation which applies simultaneously), this alone justifies our terming (the operation) *nitya*; but that, (to warrant our terming such an operation *nitya*), it is not required that (the operation) when it applies (again), should also not be superseded by (an operation) superseding it, and (that its second application) should thus be attended by results.

This (the author of the Paribhâshâs) expresses (thus):

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ever, one might object that the Vikarana-rule ought nevertheless to be regarded as *anitya* both by Par. XLIII. and XLV., *viz.* because by the substitution of Guna तुद् would be changed to तोद् (*S'abdântara*), and because तोद् only in consequence of P. I., 1, 56 (*Lakshanântarena* would be equivalent to the original तुद्. To prove then, that the addition of the Vikarana is *nitya*, in spite of Par. XLIII. and XLV., it becomes necessary to give Par. XLVI.

1. In other words, when both Par. XLV., and Par. XLIII. and XLIV. are disregarded.

2. *E. g.* in the formation of तुदति, where the addition of the Vikarana is *nitya* in spite of Par. XLIII. and XLV.

P. XLVII: (An operation) the cause of which would, (after the taking effect of another operation that applies simultaneously), be removed by another (third) rule, is not (on that account regarded as) not *nitya*.[1]

Sometimes, however, (to justify our terming an operation *nitya*), it *is* considered necessary that (the operation) when it applies (again), should *not* be superseded by (an operation) superseding it, and (that its second application) *should* thus be attended by results. This (the author of the Paribhâshâs) expresses (thus):

P. XLVIII: (An operation) the cause of which would, (after the taking effect of another operation that applies simultaneously), be removed

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1. *E. g.* ऊढ from वह्+त. Here P. VI., 1, 15 teaches the substitution of Samprasâraṇa (उ) for व्, P. VI., 3, 112 the substitution of ओ for the अ of वह्. After the substitution of Samprasâraṇa for व्, the cause of the substitution of ओ, *i. e.* the radical अ, would be removed by P. VI., 1, 108 which teaches that Samprasâraṇa shall be the substitute of Samprasâraṇa and a following vowel; the substitution of ओ is nevertheless not *anitya*, but it is on the contrary *nitya*, simply because it applies both before and after the substitution of Samprasâraṇa. See the Bhâshya on P. VI., 3, 112: नित्यं संप्रसारणं कृते ऽप्योत्वे प्राप्नोत्यकृते ऽपि। ओत्वमपि नित्यम् । कथम् । कृते ऽपि संप्रसारणे प्राप्नोत्यकृते ऽपि । अनित्यमोत्वं न हि कृते संप्रसारणे प्राप्नोति । किं कारणम् । अन्तरङ्गं पूर्वत्वम् । यस्य लक्षणान्तरेण निमित्तं विहन्यते न तदनित्यम् । न च संप्रसारणमेवौत्वस्य निमित्तं विहन्यतइयं लक्षणान्तरं पूर्वत्वं प्रतीक्ष्यम् । उभयोर्नित्ययोः परत्वादोत्वम् । ओत्वे कृते संप्रसारणे कृते संप्रसारणपरपूर्वत्वम्। तत्र कार्यिकृत्वान्नुनरोत्वं न भविष्यति ॥

by another (third) rule, is (sometimes) also (regarded as) not *nitya*.[1]

In[2] the seventh (Adhyâya, on P. VII., 1, 23,) Kaiyaṭa has in support of these (last two Paribhâshâs) quoted the two (following) sayings from ordinary life: 'Although in the fight between Bâlin and Sugrîva Bâlin was slain by the venerable (Râma), nevertheless (some) people do not say that Sugrîva was more powerful than Bâlin (*viz.* because Bâlin was slain, not by Sugrîva, but by Râma); and (on the other hand), although the Pâṇḍavas obtained the victory (over the Kauravas) because they were assisted by the venerable (Vâsudeva), yet (some) people say that the Pâṇḍavas were more powerful (than the Kauravas)'.

And all the above (Paribhâshâs) are applied severally (each in particular cases) according as (different) forms (have to be formed or to be accounted for by the rules of Pâṇini's grammar).

1. See Par. L. pag. 42, l. 18 of the text: सिद्धान्ते नित्यत्वात्पूर्वमूङ्गुणस्तूठि यणा वाधितत्वादनित्यः.

सिव्+न; P. VI., 4, 19 teaches the substitution of ऊ for व्; P. VII, 3, 86 the substitution of Guna for इ; here the latter operation is regarded as *anitya*, because after the substitution of ऊ for व् (in सिऊ+न) its cause, *viz.* इ, is removed by P. VI., 1, 77 by which rule य् is substituted for इ before ऊ. (Cf. also Si. Kau. I., pag. 154, note 27).

2. P.: अनयोर्नै वाचनिकत्वं किंतु लोकन्यायसिद्धत्वमित्याह सप्तम इति.

PARIBHÂSHÂ XLIX.

In the Bhâshya on the rule P. II., 4, 85[1] we read the following (Paribhâshâ):

1. Likewise in the Bhâshya on P. III., 1, 3 and elsewhere.

P. XLIX: When (the wordform) in reference to which a rule teaches something, (after the taking effect of another rule that applies simultaneously), would be different (from what it was before that other rule had taken effect) in consequence of (some difference of) accentuation, then the (former) rule is not *nitya*.[1]

Where,[2] however, one and the same operation is both (taught in a) subsequent (rule) and *nitya*, there one may

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1. In the formation of कुमार्यै from कुमारी+ए two rules apply simultaneously, P. VII., 3, 112 by which आ should be prefixed to ए, and P. VI., 1, 174 by which ए should become *udâtta*; both these rules are *anitya*, the former by the present Paribhâshâ because before the taking effect of P. VI., 1, 174 ए is *anudâtta* whereas after its taking effect it would be *udâtta*, the latter by Par. XLIII. because before the taking effect of P. VII., 3, 112 ए would become *udâtta* whereas after its taking effect ऐ would become *udâtta*. See Bhâshya on P. VIII., 2, 6: एवं तर्हीदमिह संप्रधार्यमाङ्क्ष्यतामुदात्तत्वमिति किमत्र कर्तव्यम् । परत्वादाडागमः । नित्यमुदात्तत्वं कृतेऽप्याटि प्राप्नोत्यकृतेऽपि । आडपि नित्यः कृतेऽप्युदात्तत्वे प्राप्नोत्यकृतेऽपि प्राप्नोति । अनित्य आडन्यथास्वरस्य कृत उदात्तत्वे प्राप्नोत्यन्यथास्वरस्याकृते । स्वरभिन्नस्य प्रापुरन्विधिरनित्यो भवति । उदात्तत्वमप्यनित्यमन्यस्य कृत आटि प्राप्नोत्यन्यस्याकृते प्राप्नोति । शब्दान्तरस्य च प्रापुरन्विधिरनित्यो भवति । उभयोरनित्ययोः परत्वादाडागमः ॥

Bhairavamis'ra gives the following instance: when we form a compound of दधि which is *ádyudâtta*, and of उदक, two rules apply simultaneously, *viz.* P. VI., 1, 77 which teaches the substitution of य् for the इ of दधि, and P. VI., 2, 96 by which दधि should become *antodâtta*. Because then दधि would have a different accent before and after the taking effect of P. VI., 2, 96, the rule P. VI., 1, 77 is *anitya*, and VI., 2, 96 takes effect first. We obtain thus दधि+उदक and afterwards by P. VI., 1, 77 and VIII., 2, 4 दध्युदक. Had P. VI., 1, 77 been *nitya* and accordingly been applied first we should have obtained दध्य्+उदक=दध्युदक.

2. Nâgojibhatta concludes with a general remark on *nitya* operations.

optionally put down either (of those two circumstances) or both of them as the cause of the greater force of that (operation). Therefore we find here and there in the Bhâshya the expression 'because it is (taught in a) subsequent (rule) and because it is *nitya*.' In reality the expression 'because it is (taught in a) subsequent (rule)' is in those (passages) employed by one who is only partly acquainted (with the true and final opinion of the author of the Bhâshya).[1] This is clear from Kaiyaṭa's remarks on P. I., 4, 2.[2]

In the Bhâshya on P. VII., 4, 1 the only reason which has been assigned for the fact that the reduplication would take effect before the (substitution of the) short vowel, is this 'that it is *nitya*,' although (the reduplication) is both *nitya* and *antaranga*.

One should remember that a *nitya* as well as an *antaranga* (rule) likewise[3] only then possesses greater force (or, in other words, only then supersedes, or takes effect before, another rule), when it cannot take effect simultaneously (with that rule).

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1. P. नित्यानित्ययोर्विप्रतिषेधासंभवादिति भावः.

2. Kaiyaṭa on P. I., 4, 2: कार्यिमित्यलाहीर्थं कृत्यः। करणाई कार्यम्। तुल्यबलं च करणार्हमिति नित्यानित्योत्सर्गापवादान्तरङ्गबहिरङ्गेष्वस्य सूत्रस्याव्यापारः॥ Therefore one ought to say only नित्यत्वात्; or where two reasons are really possible, there one ought to put down the first; to show this Nâgojibhaṭṭa goes on to say 'In the Bhâshya on P. VII., 4, 1.'

3. *I. e.* just as a *para* rule. See Par. XL. Or एवं may mean उक्तवत् and may introduce a further general remark.

PARIBHÂSHÂ L.

An *antaranga* (rule) possesses greater force even than a *nitya* (rule), because that which is *bahiranga* is (regarded as) not having taken effect (or as not existing), when that which is *antaranga* (is to take effect). This (the author of the Paribhâshâs) expresses (thus) :

P. L : That which is *bahiranga* is (regarded as) not having taken effect (or as not existing), when that which is *antaranga* (is to take effect).

Antaranga[1] is (a rule) the causes (of the application) of

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1. Definition of the terms अन्तरङ्ग and बहिरङ्ग pag. 41, l. 9-12. अङ्ग is equivalent to शब्दरूपं निमित्तम् p. 41, 12-p. 43, 14.
   (*a*) Meaning does not make an operation *bahiranga* p. 41, 13-p. 42, 1; (*b.*) nor does dependence on technical terms make an operation *bahiranga* p. 42,-p. 43, 14.
   Antaranga and *bahiranga* are not equivalent to *alpâpeksha* and *bahvapekṣha* p. 42, 13.
2. Meaning of the whole Paribhâshâ, and its *Linga*; p. 43, 15-p. 44, 2.
3. The Paribhâshâ has no concern with the rules in P. VIII., 2-4; p. 44, 3-p. 45, 11. General Jñâpaka, ङ्ङ् in P. VI., 4, 132; p. 44, 3-15.
4. Special Jñâpaka (भाङ् in P. VI., 1, 95) to prove, that a *bahiranga* rule which applies *simultaneously* with an *antaranga* rule, is likewise *asiddha*; p. 45, 12-p. 47, 4.
5. Refutation of the view that *sâmânyâpeksha* is *antaranga* in regard to *vis'eshâpeksha*, p. 47, 5-p. 49, 7.
6. The existence of the Paribhâshâ is also established by a Lokanyâya; (*antaranga* is equivalent to *antahkârya i. e. pûrvopasthitanimittaka*, but not to *pûrvasthânika*); p. 49, 8-p. 50, 8.
7. The Paribhâshâ must sometimes not be applied; p. 50, 9-16.

which lie within (or before) the sum of the causes of a *bahiranga* rule[1]; in like manner (that rule) the causes (of the application) of which lie without (or beyond) the sum of the causes of that (*antaranga* rule) is *bahiranga*.[2] This is clear from the Bhâshya

1. अन्तरङ्ग and बहिरङ्ग are two Bahuvrîhi-compounds; they are adjectives and denote a rule, or an operation, or that which is taught in a rule. The word अङ्ग neither denotes here 'a member of the body,' nor is it the grammatical term अङ्ग as defined in P. I., 4, 13, but it is equivalent to उपकारक 'that which assists (an operation)', or, in other words, it denotes the निमित्त *i. e.* 'the cause' of an operation.

2. *E. g. a.*) सि ऊ+न

P. VI., 1, 77, P. VII., 3, 86,

Substitution of य् for ई before ऊ; Substitution of Guna for ई before न;

antaranga. *bahiranga.*

In the formation of स्यौन, from सिव्+न, ऊ is substituted for the व् of सिव् by P. VI., 4, 19 (see note 1 on pag. 218); we obtain thus सि ऊ+न. Here two rules apply simultaneously, *viz.* P. VI., 1, 77 which teaches the substitution of य् for ई before ऊ, and P. VII., 3, 86 by which Guna should be substituted for the penultimate ई before the affix न, and the question arises, which of these two rules should take effect? The substitution of य् for ई is caused by ऊ, that of Guna for ई by न; as then the cause ऊ of the substitution of य् lies within or before the cause न of the substitution of Guna, and, on the other hand, the cause न of the substitution of Guna without or beyond the cause ऊ of the substitution of य्,—the substitution of य् for ई and the rule P. VI., 1, 77 that teaches it, is *antaranga*; and the substitution of Guna for ई and the rule P. VII., 3, 86 that teaches it, is *bahiranga*. Accord-

and from Kaiyaṭa's (comment) on P. VIII., 3, 15 and VI., 4, 22.[1]

The word अङ्ग in this (Paribhâshâ) denotes only a formal cause[2] (such as a letter or a combination of letters), because in

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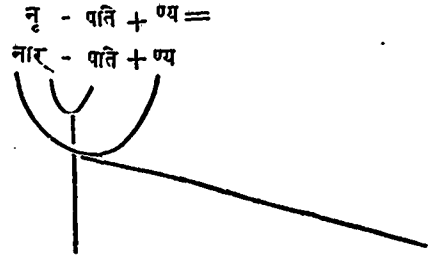
ingly P. VI., 1, 77 must take effect, because P. VII., 3, 86, so far as the taking effect of P. VI., 1, 77 is concerned, does not exist.



P. VIII., 3, 15, Substitution of Visarjanîya before प्; *antaranga.*

P. VII., 2, 117, Substitution of Vṛiddhi for ऋ before ण्य; *bahiranga.*

When the affix ण्य is added to नृपति (to form नार्पत्य), it causes by P. VII., 2, 117 the substitution of Vṛiddhi for ऋ. Subsequently the question arises whether by P. VIII., 3, 15 Visarjanîya shall be substituted for the र् of नार् before the प् of पति. The substitution of Visarjanîya for र् is caused by प्, that of Vṛiddhi for ऋ by ण्य; the former operation is therefore *antaranga*, and the latter *bahiranga*, and one might say that Visarjanîya ought not to be substituted for र् because according to the present Paribhâshâ the substitution of the Vṛiddhi आर् for ऋ, being *bahiranga*, ought so far as P. VIII., 3, 15 is concerned to be regarded as not having taken effect. (See however pag. 45. l. 5 of the text).

1. Bhâshya on P. VI., 4, 22: बहिरङ्गमन्तरङ्गमिति च प्रतिद्वन्द्विभाविनावेतावर्थौ। कथम्। सत्यन्तरङ्गे बहिरङ्गे सति च बहिरङ्गेऽन्तरङ्गम्॥ similarly on P. VIII., 3, 15.

Kaiyaṭa on P. VIII., 3, 15: अन्तरङ्गं यस्य बहिरङ्गं यस्येति बहुव्रीहिः। ततः सर्वलिङ्गावन्तरङ्गबहिरङ्गशब्दावुपपन्नौ। अङ्गशब्दश्चालोपकारकवाची॥

2. *E. g.* in the example सि क+न, क is the cause of the substitu-

a work which teaches the formation of words main importance attaches to the wordform. (When) therefore (an operation is) caused by the meaning, it is not (on that account) *bahiranga*, (and the present Paribhâshâ cannot affect it). Only for this reason is the prohibition P. VI., 4, 4 (which is to prevent the lengthening of the final vowel of तिसृ etc. before the termination नाम् in the Gen. Fem.) effective. (Were), on the other hand, (an operation that is caused by the meaning, on that account *bahiranga*, the substitution of) तिसृ (for ति which is taught in P. VII., 2, 99, would), as caused by the meaning, *viz.* by (the circumstance of ति being in) the feminine gender, (be *bahiranga*) in regard to (the substitution of ख्य for ति which is taught in P. VII., 1, 53; consequently) the substitution of ख्य (for ति) would, (in preference to that of तिसृ, take place also in the Gen. Fem.) because it would be *antaranga*, and (तिसृ not having been substituted even in the Gen. Fem.) the prohibition (VI., 4, 4 regarding तिसृ) would evidently be absurd. On the same account are a Vârttika[1] on P. I., 1, 56 which says that, (contrary to P. I., 1, 56, 'the substitute) ending with सृ (*i. e.* तिसृ of P. VII., 2, 99) is not (*sthânivat*) in regard to the substitu-

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tion of य् for इ, न the cause of the substitution of Guna for इ; in नृ–पति+ण्य=नार्–पति+ण्य, ष् is the cause of the substitution of Visarjanîyâ for र्, ण्य the cause of the substitution of Vriddhi for ऋ. All these causes are शब्दरूपाणि निमित्तानि; none of the four substitutions is) caused by the meaning. Cf. P. निमित्तमेवेति | सप्तम्यन्तोपात्तप्रयोगस्थशब्दरूपमेव निमित्तमित्यर्थः ||.

1. The Vârttikakâra on P. I., 1, 56 (Ed. Ballantyne pag. 636 gives the Vârttika ख्यादेशो खन्तप्रतिषेधः; the Bhâshyakâra, on the other hand, says that तिसृ is substituted परत्वात्, and that, when तिसृ has once been substituted, the rule which teaches the substitution of ख्य does by Par. XL. not apply again. (See Par. XL).

tion of लय (for लि taught by P. VII., 1, 53)' and (the remarks of the author of) the Bhâshya (concerning that Vârttika) etc. founded on reason (which they would not be, were the substitution of तिसृ in the Gen. Fem. superseded by that of लि).

This (circumstance that the word अङ्ग in the present Paribhâshâ denotes only a *formal cause*) proves the incorrectness of the assertion that in (the formation of) गौधेर,[1] पचेत् etc. the elision, (by P. VI., 1, 66, of the semivowel य् of गौधेय्+र, पचेय्+त् etc.) ought (by the present Paribhâshâ) not to take place because (the substitution, by P. VII., 1, 2 etc., of) एय् etc. (for the initial consonant of the affix ढ्क् etc.) would be *bahiranga* because of its dependence on (ढ्क् etc. as preceded by something) termed Anga, and would therefore be regarded as not having taken effect (when P. VI., 1, 66 would be applicable; for the

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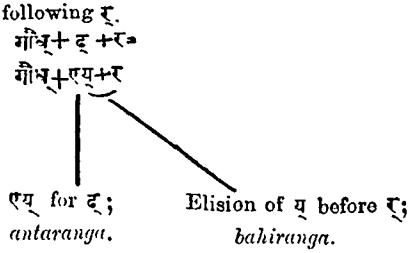
1. *a.* P. IV., 1, 129 गोधा+ढ्क्; P. VII., 1, 2 गौध्+एय्+र; P. VI., 1, 66 गौधेर. Some maintain here that the substitution of एय् for ढ् is *bahiranga*, because it depends on the circumstance that ढ्क् is preceded by an Anga; if it were really *bahiranga*, P. VI., 1, 66 would not take effect, because एय् would, so far as P. VI., 1, 66 were concerned, not exist. Really however the substitution of एय् for ढ् is not *bahiranga*; on the contrary, it is *antaranga* because it is not caused by something following, and the elision of य् is *bahiranga*, because it is caused by the following र्.



b. पच+त्; P. III., 4, 103 पच+यास्+त्; P. VII., 2, 79 पच+या+त्; P. VII., 2, 80 पच+इय्+त्; P. VI., 1, 66 पच+इत्=पचेत्. Here likewise it is

'dependence on दृक् etc. as preceded by something termed Anga' cannot be called a *formal cause*). Moreover (that assertion is proved to be incorrect) by the fact that (on the contrary) the substitutes एय् etc. are *antaranga* because they are not caused by something following.

Now one might raise the following objection[1]: 'In the Bhâshya on P. I., 1, 72 it has been stated, that whereas it is desirable that in (the formation of) स्येन[2] (from सि ञ न the substitution of) य् (for इ taught in P. VI., 1, 77) should, on account of its being *antaranga*, supersede (the substitution of) Guṇa (for इ taught in P. VII., 3, 86), such a result would not be attained if P. I., 1, 72 were to apply also in rules like P. VI., 1, 77; for

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maintained that the substitution of इय् for या is *bahiranga*, because it depends on the circumstance that या is preceded by an Anga which ends with अ. In reality the case stands thus:

पच+या+त्=
पच+इय्+त् .

इय् for या; *antaranga.*

Elision of य् before त्; *bahiranga.*

1. The objection which is raised is this: 'In the preceding it has been stated that the word अङ्ग in अन्तरङ्ग and बहिरङ्ग denotes *only* a formal cause; this cannot be correct for Kaiyaṭa enumerates the dependence on technical terms among the causes which, according to him, make an operation *bahiranga*. Moreover, Kaiyaṭa considers the words *antaranga* and *bahiranga* as synonymous with *alpâpeksha* and *bahvapeksha*.'

2. In सि ञ न, य् for इ is *antaranga*, and Guṇa for इ *bahiranga* (see note 2 on pag. 222.) If P. I., 1, 72 did apply in P. VI., 1, 77, the latter rule, when applied to सि ञ न, would teach us that य् should be substituted for the final of that which ends with इ (*i. e.* of सि) before that which begins with ञ (*i. e.* before ञन); in other words, the substitution of य्

(in this case) the substitution of यु् (for इ्) would depend on the combination of letters ऊन, (the substitution of) Guṇa (for इ्) on the combination of letters न, and such being the case, (the substitution of) Guṇa would (contrary to what is desirable), because of its being *antaranga*, (supersede the substitution of यु्). Kaiyaṭa (commenting) hereon (says): "When the Uṇâdi-affix न, because (Uṇâdi-affixes are added) diversely; is added to सिच्, (three operations) apply (simultaneously, *viz.* the substitution of) Guṇa (for इ् taught in P. VII., 3, 86), the elision of च् (taught in P. VI., 1, 66, and the substitution of) क (for च् taught in P. VI., 4, 19); such being the case, (the substitution of) क supersedes the elision of च् because (P. VI., 4, 19 is) an *Apavâda* (of P. VI., 1, 66), and it supersedes further (also the substitution of) Guṇa, because it is *antaranga*. For (the substitution of) Guṇa (for इ्) depends on (there being) an *ârdhadhâtuka* affix and a penultimate which is prosodially short, is one of the vowels contained in the Pratyâhâra इक्, and forms part of an Anga; (the substitution of) क, on the other hand, depends on (there being) an Anga which ends with the letter

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for इ् would be caused by ऊन. As then the cause of the substitution of Guṇa (*i. e.* न) would lie within the cause (ऊन) of the substitution of यु्, Guṇa would be *antaranga*, and यु् *bahiranga*.

Kaiyaṭa, in order to show how सि क न, from which the author of the Bhâshya starts, is obtained, tries to prove that in सिच्+न the substitution of क for च् is *antaranga*, and that of Guṇa for इ् *bahiranga*, and that accordingly the substitution of क for च् by the present Paribhâshâ takes place in preference to the substitution of Guṇa for इ्. In this Kaiyaṭa is wrong; the substitution of क takes place in preference to that of Guṇa, not because the former is *antaranga*, and the latter *bahiranga*, but because the former is *nitya*, while the substitution of Guṇa for इ् is *anitya*. (See note 1 on pag. 218).

वृ, and an affix beginning with a nasal, and it is therefor *antaranga* because depending on fewer[1] (causes than the sub stitution of Guṇa). After that (substitution of ङ) has take effect, (the substitution of) यँ and (that of) Guṇa apply (simul taneously in सि ङ न)." Here then it has been clearly stated (b Kaiyaṭa not merely) that (dependence on a greater number (causes but) also that dependence on technical terms (like Aṅ etc.) makes (an operation) *bahiranga*.'

But this is incorrect; for (if Kaiyaṭa's view were admissibl the substitution of) Guṇa (for इ in सि ङ न) would, also in c P. I., 1, 72 were to apply (in P. VI., I, 77 etc.), be depende on a greater number of things (than the substitution of य्)[2] in other words, be *bahiranga*, and therefore, as (the author of) Bhâshya does, to find fault on that (alternative) would absurd. Moreover, one cannot by any rule of language de the meanings 'dependent on a greater number (of causes)' a 'dependent on a smaller number (of causes)' from the words *bahiranga* and *antaranga*. Had these (words) really been (intended to convey those meanings, the author of the Paribhâshâs) would certainly have said असिद्धं बह्वपेक्षमल्पापेक्षे (instead of saying असिद्धं बहिरङ्गमन्तरङ्गे). On this account[3] has योनि in the Bhâshya

1. Kaiyaṭa enumerates the dependence on technical terms among the causes which make an operation *antaranga* or *bahiranga*; for the substitution of Guṇa he adduces five causes, for that of ङ four, and he then maintains that the substitution of ङ is *antaranga* because it depends on fewer causes than the substitution of Guṇa.

2. The substitution of Guṇa would also in that case have five causes, and the substitution of य् for इ only two, *viz.* इगन्त and अजादि.

3. *Viz.*, because the words अन्तरङ्ग and बहिरङ्ग are not equivalent to अल्पापेक्ष and बह्वपेक्ष, and because dependence on technical terms does not make an operation *bahiranga*.

on P. I., 4, 2 (been adduced) to illustrate the statement that the substitution of य्, on account of its being *antaranga*, supersedes (the substitution of) Guṇa, but it has not been stated that (the substitution of) ङ, on account of its being *antaranga*, supersedes (the substitution of) Guṇa. According to your (*i. e.* Kaiyaṭa's) theory this also should have been stated; or rather, this alone should have been stated because (the question as to the relative force of Guṇa and ङ arises) earlier (than the question about the relative force of Guṇa and य्). In my (opinion), on the contrary, this has not been stated because it is impossible to prevent the (substitution of Guṇa for इ in preference to that of ङ for व्) by means of the Antaranga-paribhâshâ.[1] Moreover, according to the real and final opinion (of the author of the Bhâshya, the substitution of) ङ (for व् in सिव्+न tak*e* effect) before (that of Guṇa for इ) because it is *nitya*, wh*ere* (the substitution of) Guṇa is *anitya* because, after (the sub*sti*tution of) ङ, it would (in सि ङ न) be superseded by (the substitution of) य् (for इ).[2] And, (to wind up), the statement of the Bhâshya (quoted above) that 'the substitution of य् (for इ) would depend on the combination of letters ङन etc.' expresses clearly the view that the word अङ्ग in the Paribhâshâ only denotes a formal cause (such as a letter or a combination of letters) exhibited (in a rule) in a Locative or other case. When Kaiyaṭa (on P. I., 1, 72)[3] says that, in case P. I., 1, 72

1. *Viz.*, because both the substitution of Guṇa for इ and that of ङ for व् have one and the same cause न, and because dependence on technical terms does not make an operation *bahiranga*.

2. See Par. XLVIII.

3. Cf. Kaiyaṭa on P. I., 1, 72, Ed. Ballantyne pag. 778: यदि चेक्रो यण्-चीत्यत्र तदन्तनदादिविधौ स्यातां तदा यणादेशस्यान्तरङ्गत्वाभावात्परत्वाद्गुणादेशः स्यात् ॥

were to apply (also in P. VI., 1, 77, the substitution of) Guṇa (would take place in preference to that of य्) because it is (taught in a) subsequent (rule), this remark should be regarded with suspicion, because it is at variance with (the statement of) the Bhâshya (quoted above) that 'the substitution of य् (for इ) would depend on the combination of letters ऊन etc.' (and that the substitution of Guṇa would consequently be *antaranga*).

To[1] say that the Antaranga-paribhâshâ does not apply[2] when (व् or य्) may have to be elided by P. VI., 1, 66, is improper (because the author of the Bhâshya has applied the Paribhâshâ in a case of that description). For in the Bhâshya[3] on that very rule (P. VI., 1, 66, first) the question is raised whether the elision (of व् or य् taught by P. VI., 1, 66) would not, beyond (its proper sphere) apply

1. Some have answered the assertion 'that in the formation of गौधेर etc. the elision of य् of गौधेय्+र which is taught in P. VI., 1, 66 ought by the present Paribhâshâ not to take place' (see above pag. 225) by saying, that the Antaranga-paribhâshâ is not applied when व् or य् have to be elided by P. VI., 1, 66; and somebody else has maintained that Kaiyaṭa (see above pag. 227) for this very reason ought not to have applied the Paribhâshâ in the case of सिव्+न. These views are refuted in the following.

2. *Viz.* because it is not universally valid. See below.

3. Cf. Bhâshya on P. VI., 1, 66:

अतिप्रसङ्गो वश्चादिषु । वश्चादिषु चातिप्रसङ्गो भवति । इहापि प्राप्नोति । वश्चनः व्रीहयः व्रण इति । उपदेशसामर्थ्यात्सिद्धम् । उपदेशसामर्थ्याद्वश्चादिषु लोपो न भविष्यति । उपदेशसामर्थ्यादिति चेत्संप्रसारणहलादिशेषेषु सामर्थ्यम् । उपदेशसामर्थ्यात्सिद्धमिति चेदस्त्यन्यदुपदेशवचने प्रयोजनं संप्रसारणहलादिशेषेषु वकारस्य श्रवणं यथा स्यात् । वृक्णः वृक्णवान् वृश्चति विव्रश्चिषतीति । न वा बहिरङ्गलक्षणत्वात् । न चैतत्प्रयोजनमस्ति । किं कारणम् । बहिरङ्गलक्षणत्वात् । बहिरङ्गाः संप्रसारणहलादिशेषाः । अन्तरङ्गो लोपः । असिद्धे बहिरङ्गमन्तरङ्गे ॥

Kaiyaṭa: अन्तरङ्गो लोप इति । तनश्चाकृतयोरेव संप्रसारणहलादिशेषयोर्वलोपः प्राप्नोत्युपदेशसामर्थ्यान्न भवति ॥

to (the initial व् of) व्रश्च् etc.; subsequently this is denied, on the ground that (व्रश्च् etc. in the Dhâtupâṭha etc.) have been put down (with an initial व्, which would be absurd if व् were always elided by P. VI., I, 66). Nor, it is said, would (their enumeration in the Dhâtupâṭha *with* an initial व्) have any sense in the case of forms like वृश्चति (where, as व् is not followed by one of the letters contained in the Pratyâhâra वल्, one might think P. VI., 1, 66 would not apply), for (even here) the elision of व् would apply *before* (the substitution of) Samprasâraṇa (for र) because the latter is *bahiranga* and therefore (regarded as) not existing (so far as regards P. VI., 1, 66.)[1]

The statement (recorded by Kaiyaṭa[2] on P. VIII., 2, 2) that the rule P. IV., 1, 10 prevents (the addition of the feminine affix टाप् of P. IV., 1, 4) to पञ्च (in such expressions as पञ्च ब्राह्मण्यः), because the elision of the न् (of पञ्चन् taught in P. VIII., 2, 7 is (by the Antaranga-paribhâshâ) regarded as not having taken effect so far as (the application to पञ्च of) the technical term

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1. In the formation of वृश्चति, from व्रश्च्+अ+ति, the elision of व् is *antaranga* because it is caused by र, the substitution of Samprasâraṇa for र *bahiranga*, because it is caused by the Vikaraṇa अ (P. VI., 1, 16); accordingly व् would have to be elided but for the fact that व्रश्च् in the Dhâtupâṭha has been put down with an initial व्.

2. Cf. Kaiyaṭa on P. VIII., 2, 2: केचित्तु पञ्च ब्राह्मण्य इत्यादौ न षट्स्वस्रादिभ्यः [४.१.१०] इति टाप्प्रतिषेधाय षट्संज्ञायां नलोपस्यासिद्धत्वमुच्यत इत्याहुः। तन्न नान्तत्वात्पूर्वं ङीप्प्राप्तौ निषिध्यते। ततो जसो लुकि नलोपे चाकारान्तत्वाट्टाप्प्राप्तः। सोऽपि निषिध्यते स्त्रियां यदुक्तं तत्षट्स्वस्रादिभ्यो न भवतीति सामान्येन निषेधविधानात्॥ अन्ये त्वाहुः। स्त्रीसमानाधिकरणपक्षः स्त्रीसूत्रे नाश्रितोऽपि तु प्रकृत्यर्थविशेषणपक्षः प्रत्ययार्थविशेषणपक्षो वेति पञ्चादीनामलिङ्गत्वात्स्त्रीप्रत्ययस्य प्राप्तिर्नास्तीति नार्थः स्त्रीनिषेधेन॥ अथापि तत्प्राप्तिः स्यात्तथापि नलोपस्य बहिरङ्गत्वादन्तरङ्गे टाप्यसिद्धत्वान्नास्ति टाप्प्राप्तिः। सत्यामपि टाप्प्राप्तावन्तरङ्गायां षट्संज्ञायां नलोपस्यासिद्धत्वात्सिद्ध एव तन्निषेधः॥

षष् (P. I., 1, 24) is concerned, (and because पञ्च accordingly is termed षष् and falls under P. IV., 1, 10,) should be regarded with suspicion. For (to enable us to regard the elision of न् as not having taken effect), it is necessary to assume that it is *bahiranga* on account of its dependence on (the circumstance that) the technical denomination *Pada* (attaches to पञ्चन्); and (to assume) this is impossible because (dependence on) technical terms cannot be admitted to make (an operation) *bahiranga*. It[1] should however be understood that (P. IV., 1, 10) does prevent (the addition of टाप्) to पञ्च, because the statement 'whatever (affix) applies in the feminine, is not (added to a numeral termed षष्', does not only refer to a numeral which, because it actually ends with न्, is actually termed षष्, but) refers according to the explanation (of the learned) likewise to that which (because it once ended with न्) was formerly termed षष् (as is the case with पञ्च).

(Because then dependence on technical terms does not make an operation *bahiranga*), therefore the statement (in P. VIII., 2, 2, 'that the elision of न् shall be as if it had not taken effect) so far as regards the addition (taught in P. VI., 1, 71) of the augment नुक् before a Kṛit-affix (distinguished by the indicatory letter त्') serves a purpose.[2] For the elision (by P. VIII., 2, 7)

1. Now one might say that, if Kaiyaṭa is wrong, टाप् ought to be added to पञ्च; for as the term संज्ञा in P. VIII., 2, 2 is considered superfluous in the Bhâshya, the elision of the न् of पञ्चन् cannot by P. VIII., 2, 2 be regarded as *asiddha* in regard to the application to पञ्च of the term षष्. To refute this Nâgojibhaṭṭa adds: 'It should however' etc.

2. If dependence on technical terms did make an operation *bahiranga*, in the formation of *e. g.* वृत्रहभ्याम् (from वृत्र–हन्+क्विप्+भ्याम्) the addition of the augment नुक् would be *antaranga* as caused by क्विप्,

of the न् (*e. g.* of वृत्रहन्) in वृत्रहभ्याम् etc. is not *bahiranga* although it is caused by the fact that (वृत्रहन्) is a *Pada*. (Nor is it possible to say that the termination भ्याम् makes the elision of न् *bahiranga*), because, although भ्याम् (according to P. I., 4, 17) is the cause why the technical denomination *Pada* (attaches to वृत्रहन्), still the elision of न् is not caused (*directly*) by भ्याम्; on the other hand, there is no authority for the assumption that (the elision of न्) is *bahiranga* because it is indirectly caused (by भ्याम्). This[1] is suggested in the Bhâshya on P.

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and the elision of न् *bahiranga* because caused by the circumstance that वृत्रहन् is termed a *Pada*. The elision of न् would then already by the present Paribhâshâ be *asiddha* as regards the addition of तुक्, and कृति तुक् in P. VIII., 2, 2 would be superfluous.—See Par. LI.

1. P: Now one might say that, if परंपरया निमित्तत्व is nowhere forbidden, one may assume it; that the कृति तुक् of P. VIII., 2, 2 is rejected in the Bhâshya; and that sometimes the assumption of परंपरया निमित्तत्व is necessary. Nâgoj ibhaṭṭa adds therefore: 'this is suggested etc.' For in the Bhâshya on P. VIII., 2, 2 the expression तुक् of that rule has been rejected by means of Par. LXXXV. (quoted in the Bhâshya on P. I., 1, 39), but not (as *is* done by Kaiyaṭa) by means of the Antaranga-paribhâshâ. Therefore, even if dependence on technical terms be admitted to make an operation *bahiranga*, it has at any rate not been admitted in the Bhâshya on P. VIII., 2, 2.—Cf. note 1 on pag. 237.

See Bhâshya on P. VIII., 2, 2: तुग्विधौ किमुदाहरणम्। वृत्रहभ्यां वृत्रहभिः। नलोपे कृते ह्रस्वस्य तिति कृति तुगिति तुक् प्राप्नोति। असिद्धत्वान्न प्राप्नोति। तुग्विधौ चोक्तम्। किमुक्तम्। संनिपातलक्षणो विधिरनिमित्तं तद्घातस्य। इदं तर्हि प्रयोजनम्। कृतीति वक्ष्यामि। इह मा भूत्। ब्रह्महच्छत्वं भ्रूणहच्छाया। न लोप संनिपातलक्षणो नलोपः॥

Kaiyaṭa: तुग्विधौ चोक्तमिति। द्वयमत्रास्ति संनिपातलक्षणत्वं बहिरङ्गलक्षणं च। विभक्तिनिमित्तो हि नलोपः क्विप्रिमित्तस्तुक्। संनिपातपरिभाषायास्तुगभावः प्रयोजनत्वेनोक्त इति भाष्यकारस्यैव व्याचष्टे संनिपातेति॥ इदं तर्हीति। नियमार्थमिदं कृल्लक्षण एव तु-

VIII., 2, 2 and has in the same place been considered in the Bhâshyapradîpoddyota.

The meaning (of the whole Paribhâshâ) is this, that when an *antaranga* (rule or operation) is about to take effect, a *bahiranga* (rule or operation) which (already) has taken effect, and likewise (a *bahiranga* rule or operation) which applies simultaneously (with the *antaranga* rule or operation), is (regarded as) not having taken effect or (as) not existing. One ought to remember that in (the case of) वृश्चति etc. (where the Paribhâshâ has been applied by Patanjali, it can) only (be applied) when both (the *antaranga* elision of व् and the *bahiranga* substitution of Samprasâraṇa for र apply) simultaneously, (and that such is the case only) on the alternative (that the various elements) of which a word (like वृश्चति) is made up (*viz.* व्रश्च्+अ+ति, are all placed side by side before the rules of Pâṇini's grammar are applied to them).[1] The (fact that a *bahiranga* rule or operation which applies simultaneously with an *antaranga* rule or operation, is likewise by this Paribhâshâ *asiddha* so for as regards the latter), renders the assertion futile that there exists another Paribhâshâ (which teaches that) 'an *antaranga* (rule or operation) possesses greater force than a *bahiranga* (rule or operation.'[2] That assertion is) moreover (disproved) by the

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म्मा भूच्छलक्षणमनु यथा स्यादित्यर्थः ॥ इह मा भूदिति । तुगभावः ॥ न लोप इति । पदत्वमालिवन्धनलाक्षात बहिरङ्गो नलोपः ॥

1. If it were otherwise, the Paribhâshâ would not be applicable in the formation of वृश्चति etc., because the elision of व् would apply *before* the substitution of Samprasâraṇa; it would apply already in व्रश्च् before the addition of the terminations, and the question as to the relative force of the elision of व् and the substitution of Samprasâraṇa would not arise at all.

2. *Viz.*, because the meaning of this supposed Paribhâshâ is contained in the Antaranga-paribhâshâ.

fact that in the Bhâshya on P. I., 4,o2 the Paribhâshâ असिद्धं बहिरङ्गमन्तरङ्गे (alone) has been adopted, and that by means of it that(other supposed Paribhâshâ) has been rejected.—It is characteristic of the present (Paribhâshâ, that it is applicable) wherever a rule may be *antaranga*.

This[2] (Paribhâshâ) has no concern (with the rules) in the three last chapters (of Pâṇini's grammar) because those rules are *asiddha* (in regard to that which precedes them in Pâṇini's grammar); and that this (Paribhâshâ) has its place among (the rules contained in) the first seven lectures and the first chapter (of the 8th lecture, or in other words, that it precedes the rules contained in the three last chapters of Pâṇini's work) results from the circumstance that its (existence) is indicated by the word ङित् in the rule P. VI., 4, 132. If the Paribhâshâ did not exist, that (term ङित् in P. VI., 4, 132) would clearly be superfluous; (to[3] account) for the formation of

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1. See Bhâshya on P. I., 4, 2; there first the Vârttika अन्तरङ्गं च। अन्तरङ्गं च बलीयो भवतीति वक्तव्यम्। is given; afterwards the Paribhâshâ असिद्धं बहिरङ्गलक्षणमन्तरङ्गलक्षणे. Then the author of the Bhâshya goes on: ओम नहि परिभाषे कर्तव्ये। नेत्याह। अनयैव सिद्धम्। इहापि स्योनः स्योनेत्यसिद्धत्वाद्बहिरङ्गलक्षणस्य गुणस्यान्तरङ्गो यणादेशो भविष्यति॥

2. The existence of this Paribhâshâ is indicated by the word ङित् in P. VI., 4, 132 and accordingly the Paribhâshâ itself takes its position near that rule. When then an *antaranga* rule occurs in the three last chapters of Pâṇini's grammar, it is by P. VIII., 2, 1 *asiddha* in regard to the Antaranga-paribhâshâ; in other words, the *antaranga* rule does, so far as regards the Paribhâshâ, not exist at all, and the Paribhâshâ can therefore have no concern with it. Nor can the Antaranga-paribhâshâ have any concern with a *bahiranga* rule contained in the last three chapters of Pâṇini, because such a rule would already by P. VIII., 2, 1 be *asiddha* in regard to any rule that precedes it.

3. If the Paribhâshâ did not exist, ङित् in P. VI., 4, 132 would be

विश्वौहः (from विश्व–वाह्+अस्) etc., it would suffice to enjoin (the substitution of) Samprasâraṇa (for the व् of वाह्), for (after the substitution by P. VI., 1, 108 of the Samprasâraṇa उ for उ+आ, *i. e.* after the change of वाह् to उह्) the Guṇa (vowel ओ would be substituted) for the prosodially short penultimate (उ by P. VII., 3, 86), and afterwards the Vṛiddhi (vowel आ for अ+ओ) by P. VI., 1, 88; whereas,[1] as soon as the present (Paribhâshâ) is (adopted), Guṇa cannot be (substituted) for the prosodially short penultimate (उ), because (the substitution of the) Sam-

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superfluous, because we should be able to form विश्वौहः etc. thus:

विश्व-वाह्+ण्वि+अस् would by P. VI., 4, 132 वाहः (without ऊठ्), where संप्रसारणम् would be valid from P. VI., 4, 131, become

विश्व-उ आह्+अः; this by P. VI., 1, 108

विश्व-उह्+अः; this by P. VII., 3, 86 (the affix ण्वि, which has disappeared, being nevertheless still effective by P. I., 1, 62)—

विश्व-औह्+अः; and this by P. VI., 1, 88

विश्वौह्+अः =विश्वौहः.

1. As soon as the Paribhâshâ is adopted, ऊठ् in P. VI., 4, 132 becomes absolutely necessary because we are no longer able to form विश्वौहः etc. without it. Without ऊठ्, the case would stand thus:

विश्व - वाह्+ण्वि + अः=
विश्व - उह्+ण्वि + अः

Guṇa for उ by P. VII., 3, 86; *antaranga*.

Samprasâraṇa for व् by P. VI., 4, 132 (वाहः); *bahiranga*.

prasâraṇa (उ for व), being *bahiranga*[1] (in regard to the substitution of Guṇa), is (by this Paribhâshâ regarded as) not having taken place.[2]

And one cannot object that in the rule P. VII., 3, 86 the cause (सार्वधातुकार्धधातुक of the substitution of Guṇa for the prosodially short penultimate) qualifies इक्, (in other words, that P. VII., 3, 86 has to be explained सार्वधातुकार्धधातुकप्रत्ययपरया इग्घटिताया उपधाया गुणः), this being the reason why in भिनत्ति etc. (where इ is not followed immediately by the affix ति) Guṇa has not been (substituted for इ); and that, such being the case, the Antaranga-paribhâshâ can have no possible concern (with विश्व-उह्+भः), because (its application in this instance) would be forbidden

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I. e. The substitution of Guna for उ, being caused by ण्वि, would be *antaranga*, that of Samprasâraṇa for व्, being caused by भः, *bahiranga*; the latter would be *asiddha* in regard to the former, *i. e.* उ would still have to be regarded as व, and P. VIII., 3, 86 would not take effect. We should then be unable to form विश्व+भौह्+भः, and should not arrive at विश्वौहः. Therefore Pâṇini is obliged to teach in VI., 4, 132: वाह ऊठ्; according to that rule we form विश्व+ऊह्+भः, and by P. VI., 1, 89 विश्वौहः.

1. The substitution of Samprasâraṇa for व् is caused by the fact that विश्ववाह् is termed *Bha*, and विश्ववाह् is termed *Bha* because it is followed by भः (P. I. 4, 18.)

P. Here then we have to assume on the authority of the Bhâshya, where ऊठ् is made the Jnâpaka of this Paribhâshâ, परंपरया निमित्तत्व. See above pag. 233.

2. See Bhâshya on P. VI., 4, 132: वाह ऊठ्वचनमनर्थकं संप्रसारणेन कृतत्वात्। संप्रसारणेनैव सिद्धम्। का रूपसिद्धिः। प्रष्ठौहः पश्य। गुणः प्रत्ययलक्षणत्वात्। प्रत्ययलक्षणेन गुणो भविष्यति। एङ्ग्रहणाद्वृद्धिः। एङ्ग्रहणाद्वृद्धिर्भविष्यति। एवं तर्हि सिद्धे सति यद्वाह ऊठं शास्ति तज्ज्ञापयत्याचार्यो भवत्येषा परिभाषासिद्धं बहिरङ्गलक्षणमन्तरङ्गलक्षणं हंति। किमेतस्य ज्ञापने प्रयोजनम्। पचविदम् पचामेदम्। असिद्धत्वाद्बहिरङ्गलक्षणस्याङ्गस्यान्तरङ्गलक्षणमैत्वं न भवतीति॥

by Par. LI.[1] (This objection is futile), because an affix (such as सार्वधातुकार्धधातुक) postulates as its complement that portion (of the word which is called) 'the base' and can accordingly qualify nothing but that (base).[2] Nor does (this our statement) entail any incorrectness in the case of भिनत्ति etc. because we take, in accordance with the Bhâshya[3] on P. I., 1, 3 (the term लघूपध in P. VII., 3, 86, not as a Bahuvrîhi-compound qualifying अङ्ग, but) as a Karmadhâraya-compound, and explain (P. VII., 3, 86) accordingly, to mean, that 'Guṇa (is substituted) for (a vowel contained in the Pratyâhâra) इक् when it is the prosodially short penultimate of a base which is followed by an affix.'

(Nor can one object that ऊठ् in P. VI., 4, 132 is absolutely necessary for the formation of such forms as प्रौढः from प्रवाह् where P. VI., 1, 94 would forbid the substitution of Vṛiddhi for the vowels अ+औ of प्र+ओहः, and likewise for the formation of such forms as वार्यूढा from वारिवाह् where, in the absence of ऊठ्,

1. Which teaches, 'that an operation (such as the substitution of Samprasâraṇa) which has taken effect, cannot be regarded as *bahiranga*, when an *antaranga* operation (such as the substitution of Guṇa) which depends on the immediate sequence of a vowel (such as इक्) and something else (such as a sârvadhâtuka or ârdhadhâtuka affix), is to take effect.'

2. P. VII., 3, 86 must therefore be explained सार्वधातुकार्धधातुकपराङ्गावयवस्येका गुणः, which explanation shows that the substitution of Guṇa does not depend on the immediate sequence of the short penultimate इक् and the affix; consequently the application of the Antaranga-paribhâshâ in the case of विश्व-उह्+अः cannot be prevented by Par. LI.

3. See Bhâshya on P. I., 1, 3; Ed. Ballantyne pag. 270: पुगन्तलघूपधस्येति नैवं विज्ञायते पुगन्तस्याङ्गस्य लघूपधस्य चेति । कथं तर्हि । पुक्पन्तः पुगन्तः । लघ्युपधा लघूपधा । पुगन्तश्च लघूपधा च पुगन्तलघूपधम् । पुगन्तलघूपधस्येति । अवश्यं चैतदेवं विज्ञेयम् । अङ्गविशेषणे सतीह प्रसज्येत भिनत्ति छिनत्तीति ॥

we should form वार्योहा,[1] and that ऊठ् therefore cannot be said to indicate the existence of this Paribhâshâ, *viz.* because it would not be superfluous even if the Paribhâshâ did not exist. Such an objection would likewise be futile, for) neither is (the affix) ण्वि added to वह् nor (the affix) क्विच् to वाह्[2] (to form the second member of a compound) the first member of which is a preposition ending with the letter अ or a word that does not end with the letter अ, because (the nouns which would be formed by means of those affixes) are not used, (and because प्रवाह्, वरिवाह् etc. consequently do not exist). वार्यूहा etc. however should be taken (to have been formed) by the addition of (the affix) क्विप् to (the root) ऊह्; nor does the meaning speak against (this derivation) because roots have various meanings (and because ऊह् therefore may be taken here in the sense of 'to carry'.)[3] Forms like प्रौहः are altogether incorrect because no (rule that teaches the substitution of) Vriddhi applies (to the vowels अ+ऊ of प्र+ऊहः; for) not even (the Vârttika) 3 on P. VI., 1, 89 applies (in this instance) because ऊह (consisting as it does of the base ऊह् and of the portion अ of the termination अस्) is here void of meaning (whereas ऊह in the said Vârt-

1. See note on pag. 236. The objection is this that in the absence of ऊठ् we should form प्रौहः and वार्योहा instead of प्रौहः and वार्यूहा; *viz.* thus:

प्र+वाहः; by P. VI., 4, 132 (वाहः) and VI., 1, 108 प्र+ऊहः; P. VII., 3, 86 प्र+ओहः; P. VI., 1, 94 प्रौहः.

वारि+वाहा; वारि+ऊहा; वारि+ओहा=वार्योहा.

2. *Viz.* just because the author of the Bhâshya regards the word ऊठ् in P. VI., 4, 132 as the Jñâpaka of this Paribhâshâ.

3. See Kaiyaṭa on P. VI., 4, 132: अनकारान्ते चोपपदे छन्दसि ण्विर्न दृश्यत इति शाल्यूह इत्यादिसिद्ध्यर्थमप्यूठ्विधानं नोपपद्यते। सत्यपि वा प्रयोगे वह्यर्थे वर्तमानस्यौहेः क्विपि शाल्यूह इत्यादि भविष्यति। उपसर्गेऽप्युपपदे वहेरिवछन्दसि नास्ति यतो वृद्धेर्बाधकं परस्त्वं प्रसङ्ग्येतेत्यूठ्विधानं सार्थकं स्यात्॥

tika by Par. XIV. only denotes such a combination of letters as is possessed of a meaning.)

(Above it has been stated that this Paribhâshâ has no concern with the rules in the three last chapters of Pâṇini's grammar, in other words, that a *bahiranga* operation taught in a preceding rule cannot by this Paribhâshâ be rendered *asiddha* in regard to an *antaranga* operation which is taught in the three last chapters of Pâṇini's work). Now one cannot object t (although on the Yathoddes'apaksha the above statement a be correct) it is impossible to show why on the Kâryakâla sha[1] (at any rate) the Paribhâshâ should have no con y (with the rules) in the three last chapters (of Pâṇini's gram for (to show this is easy enough). As a subsequent (ru ly (by P. VIII., 2, 1) *asiddha* in regard to a preceding (rule (subsequent) *antaranga* (rule) ceases to exist (by P. VIII., for consequently the preceding (rule) cannot be *bahiranga* of gard to it, and can therefore also not be made out to be as by the Antaranga-paribhâshâ. Nor can one maintain that, cause the preceding *bahiranga* rule) is *asiddha* by the Antar ga-paribhâshâ, the subsequent (rule) cannot be said to be as *dha* in regard to it by P. VIII., 2, 1, *viz.* because the precedi rule would have ceased to exist (by the Antaranga-paribhâshâ). For (as) in this manner[2] (P. VIII., 2, 1 would prevent th working of the Antaranga-paribhâshâ, and the Antaranga-par bhâshâ in its turn prevent the working of P. VIII., 2, 1,) would, in the absence of any decisive authority (in favour

1. *Viz.* where the Antaranga-paribhâshâ would be placed near the *antaranga* rule and where the latter would consequently not be *asiddha* in regard to that Paribhâshâ. See above pag. 26.

2. एवं हि *i. e.* द्वयोर्यो मिथः प्रवृत्तिप्रतिबन्धे क्रियमाणे हि, P.

either), come to pass that neither of the two would be applicable. Moreover as (the rule) पूर्वत्रासिद्धम् is actually enounced (by Pâṇini), whereas the existence of the Antaranga-paribhâshâ is (only) inferred (from the word ऊठ् in P. VI., 4, 132), it is only proper that पूर्वत्रासिद्धम् should supersede this (Paribhâshâ). Therefore[1] this (Paribhâshâ) is certainly also on the Kâryakâlapaksha not placed near (any of the rules contained) in the three last chapters (of Pâṇini's grammar.)

On this account[2] has the author of the Bhâshya on P. VIII., 3, 15, after having begun (the discussion) by adopting the Kâryakâlapaksha,[3] and after having subsequently dwelt on the above considerations, [4] wound up, when stating the real and final view of the matter, by saying that on account of those (considerations the Vârttika विसर्जनीयेऽनुत्तरपदे) cannot be shown to be unnecessary by the assumption that (the Vṛiddhi आर् of नार्त्विज्य etc.) is *bahiranga* (and therefore *asiddha* in regard to the substitution of the Visarjaniya taught in P. VIII., 3, 15). He means to say that one cannot, as had been proposed, reject (a

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1. अतः *i. e.* हेतुद्वयात्. P.

2. In the Bhâshya on P. VIII., 3, 15 the Vârttika विसर्जनीयेऽनुत्तरपदे is given to prevent the substitution of Visarjaniya for र् in forms like नार्त्विज्य; subsequently we read न वा बहिरङ्गलक्षणत्वात् 'or that Vârttika विसर्जनीयेऽनुत्तरपदे need not be given, because (the आर् in नार्त्विज्य) is *bahiranga* (and therefore by the Antaranga-paribhâshâ *asiddha* in regard to the substitution of Visarjaniya taught in P. VIII., 3, 15).' See note on pag. 223. Finally the whole discussion is wound up in the words अतोऽयुक्तः परिहारो न वा बहिरङ्गलक्षणत्वात्.

3. Which shows that the final statement अतोऽयुक्तः परिहारः etc. likewise refers to the Kâryakâlapaksha.

4. पूर्वं प्रति परत्वासि° ....एवं हि... किंच...एवोचितः.

Vârttika by having recourse to the Antaranga-paribhâshâ),[1] in case the *antaranga* operation which is to take effect is taught in the three last chapters (of Pâṇini's grammar); and he wishes to intimate that, on the contrary, (in all such cases) some special statement (such as विसर्जनीयोऽनुत्तरपदे on P. VIII., 3, 15) must necessarily be made.—Therefore (in order to show why the optional substitution of ऌ which is taught in P. VIII., 2, 21 has taken place also) in (the Pass. of the causal of गृ) निगाल्यते निगार्यते, (notwithstanding that the vowel इ of the causal base गारि has disappeared by P. VI., 4, 51), a special statement has actually been made (in the Bhâshya on P. I., 1, 58, *viz.*) this[2] 'that (the Vârttika पूर्वत्रासिद्धे च न स्थानिवत्) is incorrect, because (against that Vârttika) ऌ (has by P. VIII., 2, 21 been substituted optionally in निगाल्यते, निगार्यते.' Did the Antaranga-paribhâshâ) on the other hand (concern also such *antaranga* operations as are taught in the three last chapters of Pâṇini's grammar, then) that (statement) would clearly be superfluous, for (in that case) the optional (substitution of) ऌ (taught in P. VIII., 2, 21) would, because it would be *antaranga*,[3] take place (in गारि) before the elision of the causal इ (by P. VI., 4, 51).

(The views of) those[4] who, to suit the actual forms (of the

1. न युक्तः *i. e.* संयोगान्तस्य [८.२.२३] रदाभ्याम् [८.२.४२] इत्यादौ यलय-लोक्तः स सर्वो न युक्तः. P.

2. See Mahâbhâshya, Ed. Ballantyne, pag. 681 पूर्वत्रासिद्धे च । पूर्वत्रासि-द्धे च न स्थानिवदिति वक्तव्यम् ॥.... pag. 682. तस्य दोषः संयोगादिलोपलक्षणत्वेषु॥ ....लत्वम् । निगार्यते निगाल्यते । अचि विभाषा [८.२.२१] इति लत्वं न प्राप्नोति ॥

3. The optional substitution of ऌ would be *antaranga* because caused by the causal इ, the elision of इ *bahiranga*, (and consequently *asiddha*) because caused by the following य.

4. Kaiyaṭa observes at the end of his commentary on P. VIII., 3, 15:

language which have to be formed or to be accounted for by Pâṇini's rules), maintain that the Antaranga-paribhâshâ, although (its existence is merely) inferred (from the word ऊठ् in P. VI., 4, 132), supersedes the rule पूर्वत्रासिद्धम् which is distinctly given (by Pâṇini, and who therefore employ that Paribhâshâ also in the case of such *antaranga* operations as are taught in the three last chapters of Pâṇini's grammar), need not be considered by those who are guided solely by (Pâṇini's) rules. This is the point (of view from which we have to look on the whole question).

(Above[1] it was stated that a *bahiranga* rule or operation which applies simultaneously with an *antaranga* rule or operation, is likewise by the present Paribhâshâ *asiddha*). Only because such *is* the case, (is) the word आङ् in P. VI., 1, 95 (necessary and) serves a purpose. For[2] that (आङ्) is meant to

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यदा तु लक्ष्यदर्शनवशाद्बहिरङ्गपरिभाषाश्रीयते यथा चक्रकेऽभिहितो व्यवस्था तदा युक्त एव परिहारो न वा बहिरङ्गलक्षणत्वादिति. With reference to this statement of Kaiyaṭa's Nâgojibhaṭṭa remarks: 'The views of those who'..Those who are guided solely by Pâṇini's rules must maintain that the rule VIII. 2, 1 पूर्वत्रासिद्धम् supersedes the Antaranga-paribhâshâ and they cannot therefore employ this Paribhâshâ in the case of *antaranga* rules that may occur in the three last chapters of Pâṇini's work.

1. See pag. 234.

2. In the case of खट्वा+आ-ऊढा two operations apply simultaneously, the substitution of Guṇa ओ for आ+ऊ, and the substitution of आ for आ+आ; the former is *antaranga* because the causes of it, आ+ऊ, present themselves first, *viz.* because आ and ऊढा are combined first, the latter *bahiranga* because its causes present themselves afterwards *i. e.* because खट्वा is combined with आ-ऊढा afterwards. As then in this case the *bahiranga* substitution of आ for आ+आ is by the Antaranga-paribhâshâ *asiddha* in regard to the substitution of Guṇa ओ for आ+ऊ, we first have to

show that (in the case of खट्वा+ओढा for खट्वा+आ-ऊढा) the subsequent (vowel ओ) takes the place (of the आ of खट्वा and the ओ of ओढा), while (by P. VI., 1, 88) the Vriddhi vowel (औ) should have been substituted (for आ+ओ. This question however, whether ओ or औ should be substituted for आ+ओ, can only arise) when in the case of खट्वा+आ-ऊढा (the substitution by P. VI., 1, 87 of) Guṇa (for आ+ऊ), on account of its being *antaranga*, has superseded (the substitution of) the homogeneous long vowel (आ for the आ of खट्वा and the preposition आ), notwithstanding that the latter is (taught in the) subsequent[1] (rule P. VI., 1, 101), and when (the substitution of) Guṇa (for आ+ऊ) has in consequence actually taken place. The substitution of) Guṇa (for आ+ऊ in खट्वा+आ-ऊढा) is, as appears from the Bhâshya[2] on P. VI., 1, 108, *antaranga*, because after the addition (to the root वह्) of the affix (क्त) which denotes that which causes[3] (the action expressed by the root वह्, in the present

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substitute ओढा for आ+ऊढा, and subsequently, by P. VI, 1, 95, खट्वोढा for खट्वा+ओढा. If, on the other hand, the substitution of आ for आ+आ were not *asiddha*, we should be obliged to let it take effect first *i. e.* we should substitute खट्वा for खट्वा+आ, and subsequently खट्वोढा for खट्वा+ऊढा by P. VI., 1, 87; in this case P. VI., 1, 95, or at any rate the term आङ् in that rule, would be superfluous.

1. परमपि; Râghavendrâchârya: अपवादो यद्यन्यत्र चरितार्थ इति न्यायादिति भावः. See Par. LXV.

2. See Bhâshya on P. VI., 1, 108: किं पुनरिहान्तरङ्गं किं बहिरङ्गं यावता द्वे पदे आश्रित्य सवर्णदीर्घत्वमपि भवत्याङ्गुणोऽपि। धातूपसर्गयोरित्कार्यं तदन्तरङ्गम्। कुत एतत्। पूर्वं उपसर्गस्य हि धातुना योगो भवति नाद्यशब्देन (*viz.* in अद्य+आ-ऊढा)। किमर्थं तर्ह्यद्यशब्दः प्रयुज्यते। अथाद्यशब्दस्यापि तु समुदायेन योगो भवति॥

3. The affix which is added to a root denotes that which causes or brings about (साधयति) the action expressed by the root; *e. g.* ति in

instance, its object,) first the preposition (आ) is joined to the root, while the word खट्टा is joined with the combined (preposition and root *i. e.* with आ-ऊढा) afterwards.—(Now one might object that, irrespectively of the Antaranga-paribhâshâ, आङ् in P. VI., 1, 95 is necessary, to show that ए has to be substituted for the अ of शिव and the ए of एहि in शिव एहि, when एहि is the imitative name of the Imperat. एहि *i. e.* आ+इहि, which imitative name by Par. XXXVI. has to be regarded as commencing with आ just as the original Imperat. एहि commences with आ).[1] But (this objection would be futile; for P. VI., 1, 95) is not applicable when the imitative name एहि is combined with words like शिव (in शिव एहि etc.), because on the authority of the Bhâshya on P. VI., 1, 108 according to which (आङ् in P. VI., 1, 95) indicates (that the Antaranga-paribhâshâ concerns also *antaranga* and *bahiranga* operations which apply simultaneously), that (rule VI., 1, 95) does not[2] apply to (forms like the imitative name एहि) which (do not really commence with आ but) are (only) regarded as (commencing) with आ by Par. XXXVI.,

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वहति 'he carries' denotes the agent of the action of carrying; ते in ऊढे 'he is carried' or त in ऊढ 'carried' its object, which likewise may be regarded as one of its causes.

1. Here namely the Antaranga-paribhâshâ would not be applicable because, in the imitative name एहि, ए would not be regarded as the *antaranga* result of the union of the preposition आ with the root इ; (Chitprabhâ: तत्र धात्वसंनिमित्तकार्यभावेनान्तरङ्गपरिभाषाया असंचारात्).

2. Also by the maxim अभिव्यक्तपदार्थौ यत्नौ etc. (See note 1 on pag. 94) would the rule P. VI., 1, 95 only apply to the original एहि but not to the imitative name एहि.—See P.: अभिव्यक्तपदार्थौ य इति न्यायोऽत्र बोध्यः। वस्तुतस्त्वाङ्शब्दस्य तत्रैकदेशनिष्ठत्वेऽपि समुदायनिष्ठत्वेन प्रकृतयत्नमेलनरूपस्याङ्मात्रकार्यस्याच्चात्रानिर्देशादत्रैवासंभव इति भाष्यं यथाश्रुतं सम्यगेव। अत एवाभिव्यक्तेति न्यायस्याश्रविषयः फलाभावात्। एवं चेदं प्राचामनुरोधेनेति बोध्यम्॥

(a Paribhâshâ)[1] which (moreover, on the authority of the same Bhâshya), is not (even) invariably valid.

(Above it was stated that in the formation of ओदः the preposition आ is prefixed to the root यज् after the addition to the latter of the affix त). To object, that a root is combined first with a preposition[2] *i. e.* with a word termed 'preposition,' afterwards with that which causes[3] (the action expressed by the root) *i. e.* with an affix which denotes what causes (that action), and to maintain this to be the reason why *e. g.* in अनुभूयते 'it is experienced' the letter ल् (for which ते etc. are substituted) may denote, as it actually does, the object (of the action, *i. e.* why passives like अनुभूयते may be formed), *viz.* because (भू after its combination with the preposition अनु) has become transitive,—is untenable. For as we understand action to be something that is to be accomplished, and as that which is to be accomplished requires (for its accomplishment) something which does accomplish it, we are sure of the actual (existence of an) action only when (the affix which denotes) that (which causes the accomplishment of the action) has been combined (with a root); and it is therefore proper that what is termed 'preposition' (the very existence of) which depends on its being united to (a root

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1. See Par. XXXVI., translation.

2. If a root were combined first with a preposition, we ought first to form आयज्, and subsequently by the addition of the affix त, ओदः. Were we afterwards to combine खट्वा with ओदः, आङ् in P. VI., 1, 95 would be *necessary* to present the substitution of Vriddhi for आ+ओ, and would consequently not be *Jnâpaka*.

3. P. साधनशब्दस्य करणमात्रपरत्वभ्रमनिरासायाह कारेति । तावतापीप्सिद्धेराह तदिति । प्रत्ययेनेत्यर्थः ॥ अत एवेति । तयोः पूर्वापरीभावनियमादेवेत्यर्थः । सुखमिति शेषः । आदिनोपास्यते गुरुरित्यादिपरिग्रहः ॥

denoting) an action,[1] should be combined (with the root) not until after the affix (without which the action would not exist) has taken its place. (The author of the Bhâshya[2]) on P. VI., 1, 135 rejects therefore the statement which had previously been made, *viz.* 'that a root is first combined with a preposition,' as incorrect, maintaining at the same time 'that a root is combined first with an affix, afterwards with a preposition,' and subsequently, in the words 'for (that which is denoted by) the affix brings about the action,' he shows by the above reasoning that only the latter (of the two views) is tenable.

In the abovementioned (passive forms अनुभूयते etc.) the letter लृ etc. could be added to the root to denote the object, because the root conveys by itself the (transitive) meaning ('to experience'), the meaning, to indicate which is the aim of the preposition (अनु), being inherent (in the root). After (लृ has been added to भू), the preposition which indicates (the presence of that sense in भू) is combined (with the root) in order that the hearer may understand (the special sense in which the speaker wishes the root भू to be taken).[3] When we have then (*e. g.* in

1. भू etc. are termed 'roots' when they denote an action (P. I., 3, 1), and प्र etc. are termed 'prepositions' when they are united to (a root that denotes) an action (P. I., 4, 59).

2. See Bhâshya on P. VI., 1, 135:

किमन्तरङ्गं किं बहिरङ्गमिति । धातूपसर्गयोः कार्यं यत्तदन्तरङ्गम् । कुत एतत् । पूर्वं धातुरूपसर्गेण युज्यते पश्चात्साधनेनेति । नैतत्सारम् । पूर्वं धातुः साधनेन युज्यते पश्चादुपसर्गेण । साधनं हि क्रियां निर्वर्तयति । तामुपसर्गो विशिनष्टि । अभिनिर्वृत्तस्य चार्थस्योपसर्गेण विशेषः शक्यो वक्तुम् । सत्यमेतत् । यस्त्वसौ धातूपसर्गयोरभिसंबन्धस्तमभ्यन्तरं कृत्वा धातुः साधनेन युज्यते । अवश्यं चैतदेवं विज्ञेयम् । यो हि मन्यते पूर्वं धातुः साधनेन युज्यते पश्चादुपसर्गेणेति तस्यास्यते गुरुणेत्यकर्मक उपास्यते गुरुरिति केन सकर्मकः स्यात् । एवं च कृत्वा सुट्सर्वोऽन्तरङ्गतरो भवति कान्पूर्वग्रहणं चापि शक्यमकर्तुम् ॥

3. First the speaker has in his mind the special meaning of the root

the formation of the Redupl. Perfect of the root कृ preceded by the preposition सम्) proceeded as far as सं कृ णि (where two operations apply, *viz.* the addition to कृ of the augment सुट् taught by P. VI., 1, 137 etc., and the reduplication of कृ taught by P. VI., 1, 8, the addition of the augment) सुट् takes, in accordance with what has just been stated, place before the reduplication etc., and reduplication etc. take place afterwards, because (the former) depends on the preposition the meaning of which, (being inherent in the root itself which exists before the affix णि), is still more *antaranga* (than the termination णि which causes the reduplication. Accordingly the words कर्मणेः of P. VI., 1, 135 have in the Bhâshya been rejected as superfluous).

(Because then affixes are added to roots before words termed 'prepositions' are prefixed to them) therefore (the substitution of) ण् (for the न् of the preposition नि) in प्रणिदापयति etc. has been established in the Bhâshya[1] by means of Par. XI., (whereas, if the prepositions प्र and नि had been prefixed to दा previously

(*i. e.* that meaning of it which afterwards for the sake of clearness is indicated to the hearer by the preposition;) in accordance with this meaning he adds the affix; and finally (in order to show to the hearer what particular meaning is expressed by the root) he places the preposition before the root. In the above passage from the Bhâshya the first part पूर्वं धात्वर्थसंसर्ग means accordingly that the speaker first connects in his mind the *meaning* of the root with that of the preposition; the following means that he afterwards adds the affix, and the rest पश्चादुपसर्गेण means that the *word* termed 'preposition' is combined with the root after the addition of the affix. From this it follows clearly that an operation which depends on the *meaning* of the preposition is *antaranga* in regard to an operation which depends on the affix; and that, on the other hand, an operation which depends on the affix is *antaranga* in regard to an operation which depends on the *letters* of the preposition. (For examples see below).

1. See above pag. 54.

to the addition of the causal affix इ and the consequent addition to दा of the augment नु, no doubt could have arisen regarding the change of न् to ण्, or at any rate all doubts of that kind would have been removed by means of the Antaranga-paribhâshâ and not by means of Par. XI.) For the same reason is it possible to form (from प्रति+इ etc.) प्रत्येति, प्रत्यय, and similar forms, which otherwise could not have been formed, because, (if the preposition प्रति had been prefixed to इ before the addition of the affixes ति, अ etc), the homogeneous long vowel (ई) would, because (its substitution would have been) *antaranga*, have taken the place (of इ+इ before the substitution of Guṇa for the radical इ, and would have made the latter impossible).

When an operation that is caused by a preposition, depends on the meaning of that preposition, then it is *antaranga*, because the meaning which that preposition indicates is inherent (in the root, and because that operation is therefore really caused by the root which exists before the affix); but where such is not the case, (*i. e.* where the operation depends on the letters of the preposition), there the operation which is caused by the affix is *antaranga*, because (the affix) is placed near the root before (the word which is termed 'preposition' is placed near it). It has on this account been stated in the Bhâshya on P. I., 1, 4 that in the case of प्रेङ्ख (from प्र+इङ्ख, the substitution of) Guṇa (ए for अ+इ) is *bahiranga* (in regard to the prohibition of Guṇa which is caused by the affix क्ङ).[1]

1. In the case of प्र+इङ्ख two rules apply simultaneously, *viz.* P. VI., 1, 87 which teaches the substitution of Guṇa ए for अ+इ, and P. I., 1, 5 which forbids the substitution of Guṇa for इ before the affix क्ङ; the latter rule is *antaranga* and the former *bahiranga*, because the affix is added first, the preposition afterwards.

Moreover, it appears from the Bhâshya on P. II, 2, 19 that if the preposition were combined (with the root) previously (to the addition of the affix), the root and preposition would form a compound[1] and in that case both should (as Kaiyaṭa observes) have only one accent etc.[2]

An affix[3] which denotes a state likewise takes its place (after a root) before (a preposition is prefixed to the latter); only for this reason is (the word अध्ययन) which occurs in P. VII., 2, 26,

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See Mahâbhâshya, Ed. Ballantyne pag. 289: बहिरङ्गो गुणोऽन्तरङ्गः प्रतिषेधः॥

Kaiyaṭa: यदा पूर्वं प्रत्ययः पश्चादुपसर्गयोगस्तदा प्रतिषेधोऽन्तरङ्गो गुणो बहिरङ्गः। यदा तु पूर्वमुपसर्गयोगस्तदा गुणोऽन्तरङ्गः पश्चात्प्रत्ययोत्पत्तौ निषेधो बहिरङ्गः। सत्यां बहिरङ्गस्यासिद्धत्वादिष्टसिद्धिः॥

1. P. समासे। सहेति योगविभागेन कुगतीति वा॥ *i. e.* by the word सह in P. II., 1, 4 taken as a separate rule, or by the rule P. II., 2, 18.

2. P. ऐकस्वर्यादि। आदिनैकपद्यपरिग्रहः॥

See Bhâshya on P. II., 2, 19: एवं तर्हि सिद्धे सति यदनिङ्ङिति प्रतिषेधं शास्ति तज्ज्ञापयत्याचार्योऽनयोर्योगयोर्निवृत्तं सुप्सुपेति। किमेतस्य ज्ञापने प्रयोजनम्। गतिकारकोपपदानां कृद्भिः सह समासो भवति प्राक् सुबुत्पत्तेः [प° ७५] इत्येषा परिभाषा न कर्तव्या भवति। यद्येतज्ज्ञाप्यते केनेदानीं समासो भविष्यति। समर्थेन। यद्येवं धातूपसर्गयोरपि समासः प्राप्नोति। पूर्वं धातुरूपसर्गेण युज्यते पश्चात्साधनेनेति। नैतदस्ति। पूर्वं धातुः साधनेन युज्यते पश्चादुपसर्गेण साधनं हि क्रियां निर्वर्तयति तामुपसर्गो विशिनष्टि। अभिनिर्वृत्तस्य चार्थस्योपसर्गेण विशेषः शक्यो वक्तुम्॥

Kaiyaṭa: यद्येवमिति। ततश्चैकस्वर्यादिप्रसङ्गः शाकलप्रतिषेधप्रसङ्गश्च॥ पूर्वं धातुरूपसर्गेणेति। ततस्तयोः सामर्थ्यमस्त्युपसर्गेणैवंविशिष्टायाः क्रियायाः साधनेन योगात्॥ पूर्वं धातुः साधनेनेति। ततश्च पूर्वं साधनाभिधायिप्रत्ययोत्पत्तिः पश्चात्साधनसंसृष्ट एव धातुरूपसर्गेण युज्यते न केवल इति धातूपसर्गयोः समासाभावः। तल कृदन्तेन समासो भवत्येव तिङन्तेन त्वतिङ्ङिति निषेधान्न भवति। यत्र तु तिङन्तेन समास इष्यते स विषयो दर्शित उदात्तवतेति॥ अभिनिर्वृत्तस्येति। अनिष्पन्नस्य विशेषाकाङ्क्षाया अभावात्। अनुभूयते सुख मुपास्यते गुरुरित्यादौ धातुरेव सकर्मिका क्रिया वक्तुमुपसर्गस्तु द्योतक इति नास्ति कश्चिदस्मिन्पक्षे दोषः॥

3. P. नन्वेवमप्यध्ययनमित्याद्यसिद्धिस्तत्र साधनप्रयुक्तप्रत्ययाभावात्। अत्र आह। भावार्थेति। तदर्थकर्तृको ऽसीत्यर्थः॥

formed correctly.[1] And this (word अध्ययन in P. VII., 2, 26 indicates generally (not merely that Kṛit-affixes like अन, when they denote a state, are added to the root before a preposition is prefixed to the latter, but also) that a तिङ् *i. e.* a personal termination which denotes a state, likewise takes its place (after the root) before (a preposition is prefixed to it). If it were otherwise, (root and preposition) would in such cases form a compound (which would be incorrect); on the other hand, after the addition of the personal termination, no (such) incorrectness can arise because (the formation of a compound) would be forbidden by the expression अतिङ् (in P. II., 2, 19. These remarks are necessary) provided that a verbal form in which the personal termination denotes a state be (ever) combined with a preposition.[2] So much (on this question).

(Some grammarians)[3] say: 'That which depends on something general is *antaranga* in regard to that which depends on something special, because anything depending on something special is caused by the special nature (of the latter) *in addition* (to being caused by what may be its general nature). *E. g.*[4] in the

1. If अधि had been prefixed to the root इ before the addition of the affix अन, ई would have been substituted for the इ of अधि and for the radical इ, and in that case the formation of अध्ययन would have been impossible. But as the affix is first added to इ, the substitution of Guṇa for the radical इ takes place first, and subsequently the इ of अधि is changed to य्.

2. Chitprabhâ: वस्तुतस्तु तस्य विशेषापेक्षज्ञापकत्वेऽपि न दोष इत्यत आह यदीति। यदीत्यनेन भावनिङुपसर्ग एव नास्तीति ध्वनिते दोषाभावोऽपि ध्वनित एवेति बोध्यम्॥

3. Such as Bhaṭṭojidikshita, Si. Kau. II., pag. 123.

4. When रुद्+लिङ् has been changed to रुद्+त, the following rules apply simultaneously: P. III., 4, 103 which teaches the addition to the affix त etc. of यासुट् after a root, and P. VII., 2, 76, VII., 3, 98 and 99

case of (the addition of the augment इट् taught in) P. VII., 2, 76, (the causes[1] on which that addition depends are) "the being one of रुद् etc." and "the being a Sârvadhâtuka;" here, in order to form the conception of "being a Sârvadhâtuka" we must necessarily know that the base (रुद् etc.) has the nature of a root, and we must also know that the termination (त् etc.) has the nature of an affix; accordingly (the addition of) यासुट् (taught in P. III., 4, 103) is *antaranga* (in regard to the addition of the augments इट्, ईट्, and अट्, taught in P. VII., 2, 76; VII., 3, 98 and 99; and supersedes the latter).[2] The above proves Kaiyaṭa's[3] statement on P. I., 3, 12, "that (the substitutes) क्ति etc. are *antaranga*, because (their substitution) depends on ल् only, whereas श्य etc. are *bahiranga*, because (their addition) depends on a special letter ल् (*i. e.* on ल् specified by कर्तरि etc.)" to be incorrect, *viz.* because, although (श्य etc.) depend on something special, not being caused (also) by the general nature (of the latter), they cannot be shown to be *bahiranga*. Moreover (Kaiyaṭa's statement is incorrect,) because श्य etc. are *bahiranga* on account of their being caused by something following.'

However, all this is untenable; for, although the general nature (of something special) may be inferred to be present (when the latter presents itself) from the fact that that which is special possesses that general nature, yet there is no proof for its being a cause (of an operation which depends on that

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which teach the addition to the Sârvadhâtuka affix त् etc. of इट्, ईट्, or अट्, after the roots रुद् etc.; according to Bhaṭṭojidikshita, the former rule is *antaranga*, while the latter are *bahiranga*.

1. सार्वधातुकत्वं च; P. निमित्तमिति शेषः.

2. P. तथा च यत्सामान्यधर्मापेक्षशास्त्रापेक्षया कश्चिद्विशेषधर्मोऽपेक्षितो निमित्तकोटौ यत्र विशेषापेक्षशास्त्रेऽस्ति तत्ततो बहिरङ्गमिति फलितम् ॥

3. See above pag. 204.

which is special), and it cannot therefore be said with propriety that (such an operation) is caused by that (general) nature in addition (to its being caused by the special nature of that on which it depends);[1] moreover such a meaning of (the terms) *antaranga* and *bahiranga* (as would be expressed by the words *sâmânyâpeksha* and *vis'eshâpeksha*) has nowhere in the Bhâshya been ascribed to them.

However[2] (one may object that in the Bhâshya on P. V., 2, 94 such a meaning *has* been ascribed to the terms *antaranga* and *bahiranga*). In the Bhâshya on that rule which enjoins (the addition of the affix) मतुप्, it has been remarked that (in accordance with P. V., 2, 94) one ought to add मतुप् also when forming (the compound) पञ्चगु (from पञ्चन् and गो) in the sense of 'one who possesses five cows.' (The author of the Bhâshya, in) stating the true and final view (of the case, refutes this) by saying that (मतुप् cannot be added) to each (of the words पञ्चन् and गो) because the (individual) meaning (of each of these two words) is not connected (with the sense expressed by मतुप्); that (मतुप् cannot be added) to the whole (पञ्च गावः) because this is no crude form; and that (it cannot be added) to the compound (पञ्चगु) because (the meaning of मतुप्) is expressed (already) by the compound.

The first disputant[3] thereupon maintains that the last (argu-

1. P. In the case of रूप्यात्, यासुट् has been prefixed to तृ because it is *nitya*; आडौटौ तु यासुटि कृतेऽनपृक्तत्वेनाप्राप्यानित्यौ.

2. The sentence beginning with यत्तु ends on pag. 48. l. 11, कैयट इति.

3. *Pûrvapakshin*: पञ्चगु is a Dvigu.

Siddhântin: पञ्चनावितिं etc. are Dvigu-compounds, but पञ्चगु is a Bahuvrihi (*paratvât*, P. II., I, 51, and II., 2, 24).

Pûrvapakshin: पञ्चगु is a Dvigu (*apavâdatvât*);

अन्यपदार्थे सुबन्तमात्रस्य .... Bahuvrihi (cf. P. II., 2, 24);

ment) does not hold good, because *e. g.* in पञ्चनापिति[1] a Taddhita-affix has been added to a Dvigu-compound, notwithstanding that the meaning of (that) affix is expressed (already by the compound).—Kaiyaṭa explains this to mean: The fact that (Pâṇini) IV., 1, 88 teaches the elision (of an affix which had been added to a Dvigu-compound) shows[2] that Taddhita-affixes are added to Dvigu-compounds which were formed to express a meaning such as is denoted by a Taddhita-affix; and (therefore the affix मतुप् should have been added to) the word पञ्चगु, (for this) is a Dvigu-compound.—[3]

(The author of the Bhâshya), stating the true view of the case, thereupon rejoins, 'this (पञ्चगु) is no Dvigu-compound; if you ask what it is, (I reply, that it is) a Bahuvrîhi-compound,' intimating thereby that the (formation, by P. II., 1, 51, of a) Dvigu-compound, which has taken place[4] *e. g.* in द्वैमातुर, पञ्चनापिति, or (which takes place when one wishes to form a compound) to denote (the sense) 'prepared in five dishes', is in the instance under discussion (*viz.* in the case of पञ्चगु) superseded by the (formation of a) Bahuvrîhi-compound, because the latter is (taught in the) subsequent (rule P. II., 2, 24).

तद्धितार्थे संख्यायाः.... Dvigu (cf. P. II., 1, 51).

Siddhântyekades'in: पञ्चगु is a Bahuvrîhi (*antarangatvât*);

अन्यपदार्थे.....: Bahuvrîhi;

विशिष्टेऽन्यपदार्थे *i. e.* तद्धितार्थे.. Dvigu.

1. P. पञ्चानां नापितानामपत्यमिति तद्धितार्थद्विगोरपत्य इञ्यनपत्य इति निषेधान्न लुक्. See P. IV., 1, 95 and 88. Really तद्धितार्थे in P. II., 1, 51 means तद्धितार्थविषये, but the Pûrvapakshin assigns to it the meaning तद्धितार्थे वाच्ये.

2. लुग्विधानात्, *scil.* ज्ञापकात्. P.

3. P. समासान्तस्यनित्यत्वान्न । द्विगोर्लुगिति मनोर्लुगिति तु न । अप्राग्दीव्यतीयत्वात्. See P. IV., 1, 88.

4. P. सापेक्षेति । तत्राप्रथमान्तत्वेन बहुव्रीह्यप्राप्तेः.

The former disputant, not aware that (P. II., 1, 51) does apply in those (instances द्वैमातुर etc.), replies that (in the case of पञ्चगु) a Dvigu-compound should be formed because (the rule II., 1, 51) is an *Apavâda* (of II., 2, 24).—Kaiyaṭa explains this thus: The (formation of a) Bahuvrîhi-compound which (according to P. II., 2, 24) is to take place when (several) nouns (of any description whatsoever) are employed to denote the same thing as another word, should (in the present case) be superseded by the (formation of a) Dvigu-compound which (according to P. II., 1, 51) is to take place when a numeral (and another noun) are employed to denote the same as (a word which ends with) a Taddhita-affix, because the latter has to take place in special (cases which, otherwise, would all have fallen under the general rule P. II., 2. 24).—

Hereupon one who is only partly acquainted with the true state of the case,[1] remarks: (पञ्चगु is) a Bahuvrîhi because (the formation of such a compound is in this case) *antaranga* (compared with that of a Dvigu-compound); it is *antaranga* because (as) a Bahuvrîhi (पञ्चगु) conveys the meaning of another word (*viz.* that of अस्य), while, (as) a Dvigu, it conveys a special meaning of another word (*viz.* that of अस्यास्ति), for (in the rule P. V., 2, 94 which enjoins the addition of the Taddhita-affix मतुप्), the sense of which the Dvigu-compound would denote in the present instance, the word अस्ति has been put down (by Pâṇini).—[2] Kaiyaṭa comments on this: The Dvigu is *bahiranga* because it is caused by the sense of (the affix) मतुप् (the addition of) which depends on the presence of the sense (expressed by) अस्ति in

1. *Siddhântyekadeśin* is one who is partly right and partly wrong; पञ्चगु *is* a Bahuvrîhi, but its formation is *not antaranga*.

2. P. अस्य द्विगोरर्थद्वारा निमित्तभूते तस्मिंस्तद्धिते मतुब्विधायकेऽस्तिग्रहणं क्रियते.

addition to (that of अस्य. In other words, पञ्चगु as Bahuvrîhi expresses the meaning denoted by पञ्च गावोऽस्य, सः, while as Dvigu it would express the meaning denoted by पञ्च गावोऽस्य सन्ति, सः).—

(Here then one might say that the author of the Bhâshya has evidently considered the term *bahiranga* as equivalent to *vis'eshâpeksha*. But to maintain this would be wrong, for) this statement (that the Bahuvrîhi is *antaranga* and the Dvigu *bahiranga*) has not been made by him who knows the true and final view of the matter because, even (were the formation of a Dvigu in this case *bahiranga*, it would) not on that account cease to be (taught in a rule which is) an *Apavâda* (and would therefore still supersede the formation of the Bahuvrîhi-compound, although the latter were *antaranga*), just as we see that (the substitution by P. VI., 1, 77 of) ण्, which depends on (the presence of) any vowel whatsoever, is superseded by (the substitution, by P. VI., 1, 101, of) a long vowel, which depends on (the presence of) a particular *i. e.* (in this case) a homogeneous vowel, (*viz.* because P. VI., 1, 101 is an *Apavâda* of P. VI., 1, 77). And (if one denies that the rule which teaches the formation of the Dvigu-compound is an *Apavâda* of P. II., 2, 24), then the fact that (the formation of the Bahuvrîhi) supersedes (that of the Dvigu) is already, in the manner stated above, established by its being (taught in a rule) which follows (upon that rule in which the formation of the Bahuvrîhi is taught, and it is superfluous to have recourse to the Antaranga-paribhâshâ). Besides (in the passage quoted the formation of) the Dvigu is (considered) *bahiranga* only because it depends on something additional,[1] and

1. And it has been shown before that *Adhikanimittatva* does not make an operation *bahiranga*.

is) not (considered so) because[1] it depends solely on something special; consequently that (passage of the) Bhâshya does not authorize the statement that, what is dependent on something special, is *bahiranga*. For this reason has it not been stated in the Bhâshya that the (formation of a) Bahuvrîhi depends on (the words to be compounded being) nouns of any description whatever, whereas the (formation of a) Dvigu depends on (the words to be compounded being nouns) of a particular (description). Nor can one object that that (sense which by Kaiyaṭa has been assigned to the words विशिष्टेऽन्यपदार्थे, *viz.* अधिकास्यर्थापेक्ष°) cannot be (their) true (sense), because (dependence on) meaning is not admitted to make (an operation) *bahiranga*;[2] for as that statement (विशिष्टेऽन्यपदार्थे) has been made by one who is only partly acquainted with the truth, no blame (can attach to the commentator for his assigning to it a meaning which may be contrary to what is otherwise established as correct. Because the statement अन्यपदार्थे बहुव्रीहि° etc. has been made by one who is only partly acquainted with the truth), therefore he who knows the true state of the case shows (in the sequel) that the word अस्ति (in P. V., 2, 94) is not intended to specify[3] (अस्य or अस्मिन् in that rule), but has been put down (by Pâṇini) in order that मतु् may be added (also) to अस्ति,[4] and that consequently the (formation of the) Dvigu can likewise not be regarded as *bahiranga* in the manner

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1. केवल°=अधिकापेक्षत्वशून्य°. P.

2. See above pag. 224.

3. *Viz.* because, also without अस्ति in the rule, the meaning expressed by अस्ति would be understood, just as it is understood in the rule which teaches the formation of a Bahuvrîhi-compound.

4. To form अस्तिमत्.

proposed by the Siddhântyekades'in;[1] and having shown this, he says that (the formation of) this (word पञ्चगु, as a Bahuvrîhi, and therefore without the affix मतुप्,) results[2] from the (separate additional) rule, that it is forbidden to form a Dvigu-compound to express the sense denoted by (the Taddhita-affix) मतु.

It is only because (the Antaranga-paribhâshâ does not convey the meaning assigned to it by Bhaṭṭojidîkshita and others), that the word अनन्त्ययोः in the rule P. VII., 2, 106 serves a purpose (or, in other words, is absolutely necessary. Did the Antaranga-paribhâshâ), on the other hand, (convey that meaning), the (word अनन्त्ययोः) would clearly be superfluous, for अ which, depending on (the sequence of) any affix whatsoever, would be *antaranga*, would (by P. VII., 2, 102) be substituted for the final (द्), (and the final द् having thus disappeared), it would follow that स् could be substituted only for the non-final (त् or द्).[3] Be-

1. स्वाभिमतं=सिद्धान्त्येकदेश्यभिमतम्; because namely both the Bahuvrîhi and the Dvigu would be equal.

2. सिद्धान्तिना *i. e.* तत्रैव तवाभिमतेनैकदेशिना. In reality a separate additional rule is not necessary, because according to the *Paramasiddhântin* पञ्चगु is Bahuvrîhi *paratvât*. See also Râghavendrâchârya: अन्तरङ्गत्वाद्बहुव्रीहिरिति वदन्तमपेक्ष्यैव सिद्धान्ती । परमसिद्धान्ती तु नैष द्विगुः कस्मादिह बहुव्रीहिरिति वदन्नेवेति बोध्यम् ॥. See Vârtt. 4 on P. II., 1, 51.

3. *E. g.* स्यः from त्यद्. In the case of त्यद्+सु two rules are applicable, *viz.* P. VII., 2, 102 which teaches the substitution of अ for द् before *any* case-affix, and P. VII., 2, 106 which teaches the substitution of स् for त् or द् before the Nominative case-affix सु. If *antaranga* and *bahiranga* were equivalent to *sâmânyâpeksha* and *vis'eshâpeksha*, the substitution of अ for द् would be *antaranga*, and that of स् for त् or द् *bahiranga*. Accordingly the former substitution would take effect first, and the final द् having by it disappeared, स् would be substituted for the initial त्, even if Pânini had not said अनन्त्ययोः in VII., 2, 106. The fact that Pânini has thought it necessary to say अनन्त्ययोः shows, that *antaranga* and *bahiranga* are not equivalent to *sâmânyâpeksha* and *vis'eshâpeksha*.

sides the Bhâshya[1] also and Kaiyaṭa on P. VI., 4, 130 suggest that 'being *antaranga*' never has the (sense 'being dependent on what is general'); this the learned should consider.—

Now one might maintain that (if then the term *antaranga* were) thus (employed strictly in what has above been considered to be its proper sense, it ought) in (the formation of) the Aorist Par. (असुस्रुवत्)[2] of स्रु, (where the question arises whether for

1. See Bhâshya on P. VI., 4, 130: अरुदिताम् अरुदितम् अरुदितेति । इटि कृते तांतंतामादेशाः प्राप्नुवन्ति (See P. III., 4, 101)। निर्दिश्यमानस्यादेशा भवन्ति [प°१२] इति न दोषो भवति ॥ इदमिह संप्रधार्यम् । इट् क्रियतां तांतंताम इति किमत्र कर्तव्यम् । परत्वादिडागमः । अन्तरङ्गास्तांतंतामः ॥ (See P. VII., 2, 76).

Kaiyaṭa: अन्तरङ्गा इति । प्राग्लादेशेभ्यो धात्वधिकारात्तामादयोऽन्तरङ्गाः ॥

तांम् etc. are *antaranga* because धातोः of P. III., 1, 91 is no longer valid in P. III., 4, 101, *i. e.* because ताम् etc. are caused only by तस् etc. whereas इट् is caused by रुद् etc. and the following Sârvadhâtuka; had *antaranga* and *bahiranga* been regarded as equivalent to *sâmânyâpeksha* and *vis'eshâpeksha*, ताम् etc. would have been *antaranga*, even if धातोः had been considered as valid in P. III., 4, 101, *viz.* because ताम् etc., are substituted for तस् etc. after *all* roots whereas इट् is prefixed to the Sârvadhâtuka तस् etc. only after रुद् etc.

Cf. also Chitprabhâ: तथा हि । इदं भाष्यं प्राग्लादेशेभ्यो धात्वधिकार इति पक्षमादाय प्रवृत्तम् । अन्यथा निर्दिश्यमानस्येत्युक्तेऽपि धातोरित्यवध्युपादानादिटो व्यवधानेन तामादय एव न स्युः । तथा च रुदादिभ्यः सार्वधातुक इत्यस्य तामादिनिमित्तसमुदायबहिर्भूतरुदादिनिमित्तकत्वेन बहिरङ्गत्वात्तामादय एव भवन्तीति सूचनात्सामान्यापेक्षमन्तरङ्गं विशेषापेक्षं बहिरङ्गमिति नास्त्येवेति सूचितम् ॥ कैयटेन च प्राग्लादेशेभ्य इत्युक्त्यैव सूचितम् । अन्यथा लादेशादीनां तदधिकारत्वेऽप्युक्तान्तरङ्गत्वसंभवात्तदुक्तिरयुक्ता स्यात् ॥

2. In the formation of the Aor. Par. of स्रु from असुस्रु+च्लि+त्, अ being by P. III., 1, 48 substituted for च्लि before त्, we obtain असुस्रु+अ+त्. Now there arises the doubt whether for the radical उ उव् should by P. VI., 4, 77 be substituted before अ, or Guna by P. VII., 3, 86 before त्. If the substitution of उव् were *antaranga*, and that of Guna *bahiranga*, उव् would have to be substituted in preference to Guna,

the radical उ उव् should by P. VI.. 4, 77 be substituted before अ, or Guṇa by P. VII., 3, 86 before त्, not to be applied to the substitution of उव्), because here (the substitution of) उव् has not (even) fewer causes than (that of) Guṇa for the prosodially short penultimate, (and not being *antaranga*) उव् ought not to be substituted (for उ). But this would be untenable; for the (substitution of उव्) *is antaranga, viz. antaranga* in the sense which is expressed by the word *antaḥkârya*; and by *antaḥkârya* we mean that the cause (अ of the substitution of उव्, in the order of the pronunciation of the letters,) precedes (the cause त् of the substitution of Guṇa);[1] for the word अङ्ग is equivalent to निमित्त *i. e.* 'cause'.

That this (kind of) *Antarangatva* is established by a maxim of common life, appears from the Bhâshya on P. I., 1, 57 where

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but it is questionable whether the substitution of उव् *is antaranga*. In the case of निश्चैहः (see pag. 236) the substitution of Guna was *antaranga*, because its causes lay *within* the sum of the causes of the (*bahiranga*) substitution of Samprasârana; in the case of खट्वौदा (see pag. 244) the substitution of Guna for आ+ऊ was *antaranga* because, in the order of the formation of खट्वौदा, this operation presented itself first, *i. e.* because आ+ऊदा were joined together first, and खट्वा+औदा afterwards. Neither is the case with the substitution of उव् for उ in अमुत्व्+अ+त्; on the contrary one might say, that *the substitution of Guna* for उ ought to be regarded as *antaranga* because, in the formation of the Aor. of नु, the cause त् of Guna presents itself sooner than the cause अ of उव्, for अ is substituted for च्लि only when त् follows. Some grammarians have maintained (see pag. 228) that that which has fewer causes is *antaranga* in regard to that which has more causes; but not even, if their opinion is adopted, can the substitution of उव् be regarded as *antaranga* compared with that of Guna, for the latter has only one cause, *viz.* त्, just as the former has only one cause, *viz.* अ.

1. पूर्वोपस्थितनिमित्तकत्वं=लौकिकप्रयोगीयोच्चारणक्रमेण पूर्वश्रुतिनिमित्तकत्वम्. P.

we read the following : 'when a man has risen in the morning, he does (first) whatever concerns his own person, afterwards (what concerns) his friends, afterwards (what concerns) his relatives ; (in accordance with this practice of common life) Pâṇini has assumed that similarly, whatever is expressed (by a word), *viz.* a genus, a (particular) individual, gender, number, and a (particular) case-relation, is apprehended in that order (one after the other), that the several portions of a word which denote the (genus etc.) arise (one after the other) in the same order, and that the operations which concern each (of those portions) take effect therefore in the very same order; in (the formation of) पट्व्या etc. therefore (from पटु+ई+आ etc.), the substitution of a semivowel for the first vowel (उ), being *antaranga*,[1] takes place first, because the substitution of a semivowel for the second vowel (ई) is *bahiranga* and therefore (regarded as) not existing.' The (being *antaranga* in this sense)[2] only determines that, when (two operations) apply simultaneously, (the *antaranga* operation) shall take effect first, as is the case in पट्व्या when this word is dissolved (into its constituent parts)[3] and (its formation out of those parts) accounted for (by the rules of grammar), but it does not cause a *bahiranga* (operation), which has (already) taken effect, (to be considered as) not having taken effect in regard to such an *antaranga* (operation); for this follows, as appears from Kaiyaṭa on P. VI., 4, 132, likewise from the maxim of common life mentioned above.[4] In the case of

1. अन्तरङ्गत्वात्=पूर्वोपस्थितनिमित्तकत्वात्; बहिरङ्गतयासिद्धत्वात्=पश्चादुपस्थितनिमित्तकत्वेन प्राप्तप्राप्तेः. P.

2. तदपि *i. e.* तत्र भाष्ये स्पष्टमुक्तमन्तरङ्गत्वमपि. P.

3. *I. e.* into पटु+ई+आ.

4. *Viz.* because that maxim refers to things that offer themselves at the same time. If the *bahiranga* operation is applicable after the *anta-*

वाय्वोः etc, (where य् should have been elided before व् by P. VI., 1, 66), the elision (of य्) has therefore by the author of the Bhâshya been prevented by (the assumption that) the semivowel (व्, which has been substituted for उ,) is like the original (उ; to assume this would have been unnecessary, if the *bahiranga* substitution of व् had by the Antaranga-paribhâshâ been *asiddha* in regard to the *antaranga* elision of य्). [1] If, on the other hand, in accounting for the formation of a word, (one makes each expressive portion of it arise) one after the other, (*i. e.* if one *e. g.* first adds इ to पटु, and afterwards आ to पट्वी), then the *Antaratangatva* (of the substitution of a semivowel for the first vowel उ) in the above example (पट्व्या) must be taken to mean 'its taking place first,' and the *Asiddhatva* of the *bahiranga* (substitution of a semivowel for the second vowel ई) can only mean 'that it does not (yet) apply, because its cause (आ) is (as yet) absent.' [2]

The statement however, that in this manner (an operation) is likewise *antaranga* (in regard to another operation) when it

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(*bahiranga* operation has taken effect, then it takes effect; otherwise not. P. VI., 4, 132: ननु नैतज्ज्ञापकसाध्यं लोकतः सिद्धत्वात् । प्रथमं यौ हि लोकः । नैतदस्ति । यत्र युगपदन्तरङ्गबहिरङ्गयोः प्राप्तिस्तत्र लौकिकन्यायाश्रयेणान्तरङ्गः । इह तु बहिरङ्गनिमित्तमन्तरङ्गमिति लौकिकन्यायानवतारः ॥

यणादेशत्वं वाय्वोः: the substitution of व् for उ has taken place before P. VI., 1. In cases applicable. The prohibition of Sthânivattva P. I., 1, 58 1, 66 becomes not apply, because it is again restricted by Vârtt. 1. न पदान्त° does आजादेशो न स्थानिवत्. See Si. Kau. I. pag. 35, note. स्वरदीर्घयलोपेषु लोभ bhatta on the Bhâshya, Ed. Ballantyne, pag. 655:

2. See Nâgoji तस्यैव क्रमेण कार्यमिति पूर्वमोकारनिमित्तको यण्णादि भावः ॥ येन क्रमेण शब्दोपस्थिति ने सर्वेषां युगपत्प्राप्तावनया व्यवस्था । क्रमेणान्वाख्याने तु पूर्वप्रतत्र पदस्यैव विभक्त्यन्वाख्यानादेशस्य परयणादेशस्य बहिरङ्गत्वं तु निमित्ताभावादप्राप्तिवृत्तिकत्वरूपमन्तरङ्गत्वं पूर्वयोक्तिरूपं बोध्यम् ॥

affects a part (of a word) which precedes (that portion of the word which is affected by the other (operation), should be regarded with suspicion. (If it were correct), the trouble which the author of the Bhâshya,—when he rejects what were supposed to be the objects of the rule P. VI., 4, 163, —has taken to show why after the elision by P. V., 3, 65 of विन् or मत् in (the formation of) स्रजिष्ट etc. (from स्रग्विन्+इष्ट etc.) the भज् etc. (of स्रज् etc.) is not elided (by P. VI., 4, 155), *viz.* because the rule P. V., 3, 65 is an *Apavâda* (of P. VI., 4, 155) and[1] supersedes this rule altogether (so that P. VI., 4, 155 cannot even take effect after the elision of विन्),—all this trouble would have been taken in vain; for the elision of विन् or मत्, (affecting, as it does, a later portion of the word स्रग्विन् than that which would be affected by the elision of भज्), would in the manner stated above be *bahiranga* and therefore (be regarded as) not having taken place (in regard to the *antaranga* elision of भज्); it could consequently have been shown without any trouble whatsoever[2] that the latter ought not to take effect. Moreover (the above statement is proved to be incorrect) by the circumstance that (an operation which would be) *bahiranga* after the above manner, has nowhere in the Bhâshya been regarded as *asiddha*; and further by the fact that the word भङ्ग in this Paribhâshâ is equivalent to निमित्त 'cause.'[3]

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1. One might say that in स्रग्विन्+इष्ट P. V., 3, 65 does supersede P. VI., 4, 155, but that it cannot supersede the latter rule in स्रज्+इष्ट, when विन् has been dropped by P. V., 3, 65. To refute this the author of the Bhâshya has recourse to the *Jâtipaksha*; P. V., 3, 65 supersedes VI., 4, 155 so often as this rule presents itself. See Par. LVII.

2. *I. e.* without having recourse to the *Jâtipaksha*.

3. And not equivalent to स्थानिन्.

The statement which of ÂSHENDUS'EKHARA.

viz. 'that this (Anta- ...
hiranga (operation) w... ranga-paribhâshâ) does not cause a *ba*- ...
grammar) where उ... which is taught (in that portion of Pâṇini's ...
VI., 3), to be re... त्तरपदे is valid (from P. VI., 3, 1, *i. e.* in P. ...
pakshin, and n... garded as *asiddha*,' has been made by the *Pûrva*- ...
of परंतप[2] etc... ceed therefore not be taken notice of. In the case ...
मुम् (to पर... *e.* (the addition by P. VI., 3, 67 of the augment) ...
substi...) is not (regarded as) *asiddha* with reference to (the ...
cau...ution of) Anusvâra (for म् taught in P. VIII., 3, 23), be- ...
...se this (Paribhâshâ) has no concern (with *antaranga* opera- ...
tions taught) in the three last chapters (of Pâṇini's grammar). ...
Also when one adopts the view of modern (grammarians,[3] ...
that the Antaranga-paribhâshâ only on the Yathoddes'apaksha[4] ...
has no concern with *antaranga* operations which are taught in ...
the three last chapters of Pâṇini's grammar), the above (state- ...
ment) must necessarily be (considered to have been made) by ...
the (Pûrvapakshin) because the example (परंतप) which is given ...
for it, is (even) without it formed correctly, *viz.* by the adoption ...
of that very view that (at any rate) on the Yathoddes'apaksha (the ...
Paribhâshâ does not concern *antaranga* operations taught in the ...

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1. See Bhâshya on P. VI., 3, 68: नैषा परिभाषेहोत्तरपदाधिकारे शक्या विज्ञातुम् । इह हि दोषः स्यात् । द्विर्यंतपः परंतप इति । संयोगान्तलोपो न स्यात् ॥

Kaiyaṭa: द्विर्यंतप इति । संयोगान्तलोपो न स्यादिति केचिदाहुः । एतच्च द्वयोरेकस्य वा तकारस्य श्रुतौ विशेषानवधारणादन्येऽप्यत्र मन्यमाना अनुस्वाराप्राप्तिलक्षणं दोषमाहुः । एवं च परंतप इत्यपि समर्थितं भवति ॥

2. पर+तप्, by P. III., 2, 39 पर+तप्+खच्; P. VI., 4, 94 पर+तप; here पर becomes परम् before तप by P. VI., 3, 67; and afterwards Anusvâra is by P. VIII., 3, 23 substituted for the म् of परम् before त्; thus we obtain परंतप.

3. P. *i. e.* of Bhaṭṭojidikshita and others.

4. See above pag. 240.

three last chapters of Pâṇini's grammar). This is the opinion (of those who know the truth of the matter).[1]

From the Bhâshya on P. VI., 4, 22 it appears that when an *antaranga* (operation) taught in P. VI., 4, 22-175 (is to take effect), a *bahiranga* (operation) which is taught in the same portion of Pâṇini's grammar, is not by this (Paribhâshâ) *asiddha*, because (all that is taught in that portion of Pâṇini's grammar, and therefore also the Paribhâshâ itself, the existence of which is indicated by P. VI., 4, 132, is) *asiddha* (by P. VI., 4, 22).—[2]

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1. आहुः *scil.* भाष्यसिद्धान्तानुयायिनः. P.

2. *E. g.* पपुषः from पपा+वस्+अस्; by P. VI., 4, 131 Samprasâraṇa is substituted for व because अस् follows, and we obtain thus पपा+उष्+अः; here आ is elided before उष् by P. VI., 4, 64, = पपुषः. The substitution of उ is here *bahiranga*, the elision of आ *antaranga*, and the latter ought therefore not to take place because the substitution of उ would by the Antaranga-paribhâshâ be *asiddha*. In reality however such is not the case, because the Antaranga-paribhâshâ is itself by P. VI., 4, 22 *asiddha* in regard to the *antaranga* elision of आ, for it is likewise *âbhîya* i. e. taught in P. VI., 4, 22-175, *viz.* indicated by P. VI., 4, 132, and also *samânâs'raya*, because it aims at the same letters on which the *antaranga* elision of आ depends.—See Chitprabhâ: ननु पपुषः चिच्युषः लुलुवुष इत्यादावनया परिभाषया संप्रसारणस्य बहिरङ्गत्वेनासिद्धत्वादाल्लोपादीनि न स्युरित्यत आह। आभीयेऽन्तरङ्ग इति। आभीयेषाल्लोपादिष्वन्तरङ्गेषु कर्तव्येष्वाभीयाया असिद्धं बहिरङ्गमिति परिभाषाया असिद्धवदित्यसिद्धत्वान्न तेष्वन्तरङ्गेषु प्रवर्तत इति भावः॥ न चासिद्धं बहिरङ्गमिति परिभाषाया आल्लोपादीनां च समानाश्रयत्वाभावादसिद्धवादेति न प्रवर्तत इति वाच्यम्। संप्रसारणे कृते स्वजाद्याश्रयेणाल्लोपादीनि प्रवर्तन्ते कर्तव्येषु च तेषु संप्रसारणस्यासिद्धत्वाय तद्विषये बहिरङ्गपरिभाषापि प्रवर्तत इति तेषां समानाश्रयत्वेन तत्प्रवृत्तेर्दुर्वारत्वात्॥

I now consider the reading of MS. C. which omits the word समानाश्रयस्य in l. 13, to be the right reading, although Pâyagunda does give that word; for in the instances पपुषः etc. the *bahiranga* substitution of Samprasâraṇa and the *antaranga* elision of आ etc. are *not* समानाश्रय. Cf. Pâya-

We see likewise from the Bhâshya on P. I., 1, 3,[1] that (an operation, such as the substitution of Guṇa taught in P. VII., 3, 84,) is not *antaranga*[a][2] (in regard to the substitution of Vṛiddhi taught in P. VII., 2, 1 etc.) before सिच् ; this (statement) is based on the circumstance that P. VII., 2, 1 supersedes, in accordance with Paribhâshâ LVII., the *antaranga* (rule P. VII., 3, 84 because it is an *Apavâda* of it).[3]

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a

Guṇa: भाष्य इति । तत्र हि वसुसंप्रसारणमङ्गस्यैव सिद्धं वाच्यमन्यथाभीयासिद्धत्वाद्बहिरङ्गासिद्धत्वाच्चाक्रोषादीनि पपुषश्चिच्युषो लुलुवुष इत्यादौ न स्युरित्युक्त्वा समानाश्रयत्वेनाद्यं संखण्डय्य बहिरङ्गमन्तरङ्गमिति च प्रतिद्वन्द्विभावविनिवेशार्थोक्त्यादिनान्यमपि खण्डितम् ॥ If the substitution of *bahiranga* Samprasâraṇa and the *antaranga* elision of भा etc. were *samânâs'raya*, the former *would* be *asiddha* by P. VI., 4, 22.—See also Kaiyaṭa on P. VI., 4, 22. आसिद्धं बहिरङ्गमन्तरङ्ग इत्येषा परिभाषा वाह ऊढ्यत्र ज्ञापितेत्याभाच्छास्त्रीयात् PARIBH तिषेधे परं कार्यमित्यत्रोपसंख्यातापि संज्ञापरिभाषाणां कार्यकालत्वाद्वसुसंप्रसारण दाभाच्छास्त्रीयाभाच्छास्त्रीयेष्वाक्रोषादिषु कर्तव्येष्वसिद्धेति न प्रवर्तते । तदप्रवृत्तौ दीनि भवन्तीति वाक्यार्थः ॥ ....वसुसंप्रसारणं चैकं परिभाषाया आक्रोषादीनां इति समानाश्रयत्वाद्बलवत्त्वसिद्धत्वं परिभाषायाः ॥

1. Ed. Ballantyne pag. 281.

2. P. तस्य तत्त्वं च संख्यया षट्कत्वेन चाल्पनिमित्तकत्वेन बोध्यम्, *i. e.* Guṇa is caused by following Sârvadhâtuka or Ârdhadhâtuka, Vṛiddhi by following सिच् when this is followed by a Parasmaipada-termination.

3. P. Jnâpaka is here अत् in P. VII., 2, 7 and the prohibition णिश्रि in P. VII., 2, 5. If the *antaranga* Guṇa were substituted, we should have it *e. g.* in अकौषीत्, and the rule VII., 2, 7 would (even without अत्) not apply to this, because औ is not *laghu*. Similarly we should have Guṇa and the substitution of अय् in अश्रयीत् and this would already by the य् in P. VII., 2, 5 be forbidden to take Vṛiddhi.—In the formation of the Aor. of श्रि two rules apply, *viz.* P. VII., 3, 84 which teaches the sub

PARIBHÂSHÂ LI.

Now one might say that (if the Antaranga-paribhâshâ were) then (valid in all but the three exceptional cases mentioned above[1]), the *bahiranga* (substitution, by P. VI., 4, 19, of) ऊठ् (for the इ् of दिव्) in (the formation of) अक्षय्यू[2] (from अक्ष-दिव्+क्यिच्) etc. would have to be considered as *asiddha* (in regard to the *antaranga* substitution, by P. VI., 1, 77, of य् for इ् before ऊ), and in that case the *antaranga* (substitution of the) semivowel य् (for इ्) would not take place. (The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore:

P. LI: (Provided that an operation, which by the above would be *bahiranga*, has taken effect, it is contrary to the above) not regarded as *bahiranga* (and consequently not regarded as *asiddha*, when an *antaranga* operation is to take effect)

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stitution of Guna for इ्, and P. VII., 2, 1 which teaches that of Vriddhi for इ्; if the former were *antaranga* in regard to the latter, it would take place first (=अश्वयीत्) and subsequently the substitution of the *bahiranga* Vriddhi for अ would be forbidden by the य् in P. VII., 2, 5; स्थि in VII., 2, 5 would thus be superfluous. Because, however, the substitution of Guna is not *antaranga* in regard to the substitution of Vriddhi taught in VII., 2, 1, the *latter* would take effect first, if it were not forbidden by स्थि in P. VII., 2, 5; for in the latter case it would not be forbidden by य् in VII., 2, 5, because सिच् would not be preceded by य्.

1. See the text pag. 44, 3, इये च त्रिपाद्यां न प्रवर्तते; p. 50, 13 आभीये; and l. 14. एवं सिचि etc. Above pag. 235, 265 and 266.

2. अक्ष-दिव्+क्यिच्=अक्ष-दिऊ=अक्षय्यू; ऊ for व् before क्यिच् is *bahiranga*, य् for इ् before ऊ *antaranga*.

which depends on the immediate sequence of a vowel (and something else).[1]

The word तुक् in P. VI., 1, 86 indicates (the existence of) this (Paribhâshâ); else that (तुक्, by which Pâṇini intends to show that in the formation of अधीत्य etc. the substitution of ई etc. for the इ of अधि etc. and the radical इ is *asiddha* in regard to the addition, by P. VI., 1, 71, of the augment तुक् to the root इ), would evidently be useless. In (the formation of) अधीत्य, प्रेत्य etc. (from अधि+इत्वा, प्र+इत्वा etc., the substitution by P. VII., 1, 37 of) ल्यप् (for क्त्वा) takes place after (अधि or प्र) have been compounded (with इत्वा); that composition therefore takes place before (ल्यप् is substituted. Now) as in a compound (the final letter of a preceding member) must invariably be joined (with the initial letter of a following member,[2] the final letter of अधि or प्र and the following radical इ) cannot remain unjoined even until ल्यप् takes the place (of क्त्वा); the substitution of one (vowel ए for the final of अधि or प्र and the following radical इ) precedes therefore (the substitution of) ल्यप्. (Were the Antaranga-paribhâshâ here applicable), the substitution of the one (vowel ए, for इ+इ, or अ+इ,) dependent as it is on two letters of two words, would be *bahiranga* and would consequently (already be

1. The substitution of ऊ for the व् of दिव् which has taken effect before P. VI., 1, 77, which teaches the substitution of य् for इ before ऊ becomes applicable, is therefore not regarded as *bahiranga*, or in other words, is not *asiddha*, *viz.* because the *antaranga* substitution of य् for इ depends on the circumstance that the vowel इ is followed immediately by ऊ. Accordingly the substitute ऊ for व् is *siddha* and causes the substitution of य् for इ.

2. Cf. the Kârikâ: संहितैकपदे नित्या नित्या धातूपसर्गयोः।
नित्या समासे वाक्ये तु सा विवक्षामपेक्षते ॥

the Antaranga-paribhâshâ) be considered *asiddha* in regard to (the addition of the augment) नुक् (to the root इ,[1] and the special statement in P. VI., 1, 86 regarding the addition of the augment नुक् would be superfluous; but the Antaranga-paribhâshâ does not apply in this case and नुक् in P. VI., 1, 86 is therefore absolutely necessary). That (an operation) which depends on two letters of two words is *bahiranga*, appears from the Bhâshya on the rule P. I., 1, 4, where we read that in the case of प्रेङ्ख etc. the (substitution of the) Guṇa (vowel ए for the अ of प्र and the इ of इङ्ख) is *bahiranga*,[2] and also from the Bhâshya[3] on the rule P. VIII., 2, 23.

But[4] it is wrong to maintain that (not merely नुक्, but) also the word षत्व (in P. VI., 1, 86) indicates (the existence of this Paribhâshâ), and to support this statement by saying that that (word षत्व) would be useless if the present Paribhâshâ did not

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1. The addition of त् to the short इ would be *antaranga* because it depends on the immediate sequence of ध्यप्. See P. VI., 1, 71.

2. See above pag 249 and note on pag. 250.

3. See Bhâshya on P. VIII., 2, 23: संयोगान्तलोपे यणः प्रतिषेधः। संयोगान्तस्य लोपे यणः प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः। दध्यत्र मध्वत्रेति ॥ ..... बहिरङ्गलक्षणत्वाद्धि। अथवा बहिरङ्गो यणादेशोऽन्तरङ्गो लोपः। असिद्धं बहिरङ्गमन्तरङ्गे ॥

Kaiyaṭa: अन्तरङ्ग इति। एकपदाश्रयत्वात् ॥

In दध्यत्र (for दधि+अत्र) the substitution of य् for इ depends on the two letters इ and अ of the two words दधि and अत्र; whereas the elision of य् depends only on the letters ध्य् of the one word दध्य्.

P. Although it is not stated in the Bhâshya that that which is पदद्वयाश्रय is *bahiranga*, nevertheless in the example दध्यत्र the substitution of य does depend on two words. The Bhâshya on P. VI., 1, 108 is of the same opinion: किं पुनरिहान्तरङ्गं किं बहिरङ्गं यावता द्वे पदे आश्रित्य सवर्णदीर्घत्वमपि भवत्याङ्गुणोऽपि. See note 2 on pag. 244.

4. P. He now censures Kaiyaṭa, Bhaṭṭojidikshita etc.

exist, because in कोऽसिचत् etc. the substitution (by P. VI., 1, 109) of the one (vowel ओ for ओ+अ), being *bahiranga* on account of its dependence on two letters of two words, would (already by Par. L.) be *asiddha* (in regard to the substitution, by P. VIII., 3, 59, of ष् for the स् of सिचत्), and because (that substitution of) ष् would consequently (even without the special statement in P. VI., 1, 86) not take place.

(This is wrong) because the (substitution of) ष् depends likewise on two letters of two words, (the vowel ओ which is contained in the Pratyâhâra) इण् (of P. VIII., 3, 59) forming part of the preceding word (को), and because both (the substitution of ओ and that of ष्) are therefore alike (in this respect. Nor can one say that षत्व in P. VI., 1, 86 is *altogether* superfluous, *viz.* because सिचत् is a Pada and because the substitution of ष् for the initial स् is therefore prevented by P. VIII., 3, 111; for) as the one substitute (ओ for ओ+अ) is (by P. VI., 1, 85) regarded as the initial of the subsequent word, the (combination of letters) ोसिचत् is a Pada, and (the letter स्) not being therefore the initial letter of a Pada, (the substitution of ष् for it) is not prevented by P. VIII., 3, 111.—(The above statement according to which षत्व in P. VI., 1, 86 likewise indicates the existence of this Paribhâshâ, is) moreover (untenable), because, as was shown above,[1] Par. L. does even on the Kâryakâlapaksha not concern an *antaranga* (operation) taught in the three last chapters of Pâṇini's grammar, (and because consequently it can have no concern with the substitution of ष्[2] which is taught in P. VIII., 3, 59, even should the latter be really *antaranga*.)

1. See pag. 241.

2. *Scil.* and cannot make the substitution of ओ for ओ+अ *asiddha* in regard to it.

The meaning of the Paribhâshâ is this, that a *bahiranga* (operation) which has taken effect, is not regarded as *bahiranga*, when an *antaranga* (operation) is to take effect which is caused by the immediate sequence of a vowel and something else.[1] The word बहिः is equivalent to *bahiranga*, and 'the state of that' (which is *bahiḥ, viz. bahishṭva,*) means *bahirangatva.* ('Not regarded as *bahiranga*' means, 'contrary to Par. L., by which a *bahiranga* operation) should be regarded as *asiddha*, not regarded (as *asiddha.*' The Paribhâshâ must be explained thus)[2] because the remark of the (author of the) Bhâshya,[3] 'after having said असिद्धं बहिरङ्गमन्तरङ्गे I shall say नाजानन्तर्ये,' shows that (the word) अन्तरङ्गे of the previous (Paribhâshâ) is valid (also in this Paribhâshâ). Because of this (interpretation of the Paribhâshâ) there is nothing incorrect in (its not applying in the case of) पचावेदम् etc. *viz.* because the *antaranga* substitution of ऐ for the vowel (ए, taught in P. III., 4, 93,) is not caused by the immediate sequence of (the vowel ए and) something else.[4]

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1. Chitprabhâ: अचोऽज्यानन्तर्यनिमित्तक इति । अनेन परिभाषास्थाजानन्तर्यपदे अचोऽज्यानन्तर्यमित्येकवचनान्तेन समासोऽजानन्तर्यपदस्य तन्निमित्तके लक्षणा चेत्युभयं सूचितम् ॥

2. *Viz.* by अचोऽज्यानन्तर्यनिमित्तकेऽन्तरङ्गे कर्तव्ये.

3. On P. I., 4, 2.

4. पचात+इदम्=पचावेदम्. When for the final अ of पचात and the initial इ of इदम् the Guna-vowel ए has been substituted by P. VI., 1, 87, the question arises whether for this ए ऐ should be substituted by P. III., 4, 93. This question must be answered in the negative, for the substitution of ए for अ+इ is *bahiranga* and therefore by Par. L. *asiddha* in regard to the substitution of ऐ for ए which is *antaranga.* Here our present Par. LI. is not applicable, because the *antaranga* substitution of ऐ for ए is not caused by the immediate sequence of the vowel ए and something else, but depends on the presence of ए alone.

As we have stated that (only) a *bahiranga* (operation) which *has* taken effect (is not regarded as *bahiranga*, this Paribhâshâ does not apply in the formation of अयजे इन्द्रम्, धियति etc.[1] from अयज-इ+इन्द्रम्, धि+अ+ति etc. and) the *bahiranga* (substitution of) long (ई for इ+इ) and (of the) Guṇa (vowel ए for the इ of धि)[2] etc. is therefore in the case of अयजे इन्द्रम्, धियति etc. (in accordance with Par. L.) justly regarded as *asiddha*. The remark (made in the Bhâshya on P. I., 4, 2) *viz.* 'that (the substitution by P. VI., 1, 87 of Guṇa for अ and (the vowel 'इ of the terminations) इट्, कि, and झि, (in instances like अयज-इ+इन्द्रम्, वन-इ+इह, सर्व-इ+इह etc., because it is *antaranga*,) supersedes the (substitution of a) homogeneous long vowel (for इ+इ)',—and the remark (in the Bhâshya on P. I., 1, 5)[3] *viz.* 'that (in धि+अ+ति, अदु+अ+त् etc. the substitution by P. VI., 4, 77 of इय् and उव् for the radical vowels इ and उ, dependent as it is on the अ of the affixes) श and चङ् with which (धि+अ and अदु+अ end), on account of its being *antaranga*, (supersedes the substitution of Guṇa for the same radical vowels which is taught in P. VII., 3, 86)',[4]—these and similar remarks are for the same reason quite correct. It is for the same reason that the word आङ् in P. VI., 1, 95 serves a purpose;[5] for आङ् is meant to show that, when in the case of शिव आ इहि the Guṇa (vowel ए) has been substituted by P. VI., 1, 87 (for आ+इ), the (substitution by P. VI., 1, 88 of the Vṛiddhi (vowel ऐ for the अ of शिव and the ए of एहि) is superseded (by the

1. *Viz.* because here the *bahiranga* operation applies simultaneously with the *antaranga* operation.

2. See below.

3. शचङन्तस्यान्तरङ्गलक्षणत्वात् । अन्तरङ्गलक्षणत्वादत्वेयङुवङौ: कृतयोरनुपधात्ला-ङ्गुणौ न भविष्यति ॥

4. See pag. 259.

5. See pag. 243.

substitution of the Guṇa vowel ए for अ+ए. The substitution of) Guṇa (for आ+इ) supersedes here, because it is an operation which concerns the root (इ) and its preposition (आ), and because it is on that account *antaranga*, the substitution of the homogeneous long vowel (आ for the अ of शिव and the preposition आ), in spite of the latter being (taught in the) subsequent (rule P. VI., 1, 101. Were, however, Par. LI. applicable in a case like this, then the substitution of आ for the अ of शिव and the preposition आ would not by Par. L. be superseded by the substitution of ए for the preposition आ and the radical इ; we should form first शिवा इहि, and afterwards by P. VI., 1, 87 शिवेहि, which shows that the word आङ् of P. VI., 1, 95 would in that case be altogether superfluous.)

One should not say that when in (the formation of) अक्षय् (from अक्ष-दिव्+क्विप्) the semivowel य् has been substituted (for the इ of दिव्, this य्) ought to be elided by P. VI., 1, 66, because (the substitution of) क (for the व् of दिव्) would (by Par. L.) be *asiddha* (in regard to the elision of य्.[1] This would be wrong) because the present (Paribhâshâ) conveys the meaning that (a *bahiranga* operation which has taken effect) is not regarded as *asiddha*, when an *antaranga* (operation) is to take

1. *I. e.* The substitution of क for व् would be *bahiranga* not only in regard to the substitution of य् for इ, but also, when य् has been substituted for इ, in regard to the elision of य् which is taught in P. VI., 1, 66. And although it is by the present Paribhâshâ not *bahiranga i. e.* not *asiddha* in regard to the substitution of य् for इ, *viz.* because this substitution is caused by the immediate sequence of the vowel इ and of क, it ought certainly to be *bahiranga*, and therefore by Par. L. *asiddha*, in regard to the elision of य् before व्, for this elision is not caused by the immediate sequence of a vowel and something else. य् should therefore be elided.

effect which is caused by the immediate sequence of a vowel and something else, and also when any other *antaranga* (operation) is to take effect, that may apply after the taking effect of that (first *antaranga* operation).—[1] When however the (elision of य्) is guarded against by (the assumption) that Par. L. is not universally valid (and need therefore not be applied in this case), then Paribhâshâ LI. is (here) superfluous, because (the non-elision of य्) may be accounted for simply by the (fact that Par. L. is not universally valid).

It is only for (the existence of) this Paribhâshâ that the words कृति तुक् in P. VIII., 2, 2 serve a purpose; otherwise they would evidently be useless;[2] for in (the case of) वृत्रहभ्याम् etc. the elision of the न् (of वृत्रहन् etc.)—being *bahiranga* on account of its dependence on the fact that (वृत्रहन् etc.) is a *Pada*, and that it is termed so only because (it is followed by the termination) भ्याम् which stands beyond (the affix क्विप्, the cause of the addition of the augment तुक्),—would (by Par. L.) be considered *asiddha* (in regard to the addition of तुक्), and (such being the case, the object of the words कृति तुक् in P. VIII., 2, 2) would be accomplished (by Par. L.). But according to my

1. The substitution of ऊ for व् is therefore not *asiddha* in regard to the elision of य्, and the latter cannot take place because य् is not followed by व्.

2. See Par. L. pag. 232. There it was stated that Par. L. does not apply in the case of वृत्रहभ्याम् etc. because the fact that न् is elided because वृत्रहन् is termed a *Pada* before भ्याम्, does not make its elision *bahiranga*. Here, on the contrary, it is maintained that the elision of न् would be *bahiranga* and therefore *asiddha* by Par. L., if this were not prevented by Par. LI. Further on we shall see that in reality नाजानन्तर्ये बहिरङ्गलक्षणस्य is no Paribhâshâ at all, and that what has been said in this place regarding वृत्रहभ्याम् etc. is therefore incorrect.

(view those words कृति नुक् in P. VIII., 2, 2) are quite appropriate (for in my opinion Par. LI. does exist and applies in the case of वृक्षाग्राम् etc.) because (the *antaranga* addition of) नुक् is dependent on the immediate sequence of a vowel (and something else.[1] The elision of न् cannot therefore be considered *asiddha* by Par. L., and Pâṇini was obliged to state that it *is asiddha*).

And one ought not to say that, in case this (Paribhâshâ LI. were admitted to exist), the Bhâshya on the rule P. VI., 1, 71 would be incorrect. There namely the question has been raised whether after the substitution by P. VI., 3, 61 of short (इ for the final of ग्रामणी) in ग्रामणिपुत्र the augment नुक् (should be added[2] to the final इ of ग्रामणि by P. VI., 1, 71); subsequently this (question) has been (answered in the negative and the non-addition of नुक्) been accounted for by the fact that (the substitution of) the short (इ for the ई of ग्रामणी)[3] is *bahiranga* and therefore *asiddha*.[4] (Here then one might maintain that) if Par. LI. did really exist, (the substitution of इ) in that (word ग्रामणिपुत्र) would not be (*bahiranga*), and that consequently (the Bhâshya in which it *is* considered *bahiranga*) would clearly be incorrect. (But to maintain this would be wrong) because that (passage of the) Bhâshya shows that this (Par. LI.) is unnecessary; (and this is the correct view of the matter) because it is simpler that (the word नुक् in P. VI., 1, 86), which (has been assumed) to indicate

1. See P. VI., 1, 71.
2. नुकमाशङ्क्य, *scil.* प्रत्ययलक्षणेन क्विपमाश्रित्य. P. (ग्रामणी-क्विप्+पुत्र).
3. *Scil.* which is caused by पुत्र.
4. See Bhâshya on P. VI., 1, 71: इह तर्हि ग्रामणिपुत्रः सेनानिपुत्रः | ह्रस्वे कृते नुक् प्राप्नोति | ग्रामणिपुत्रादिषु वाप्राप्तिः | ग्रामणिपुत्रादिषु वाप्राप्तिः | किं कारणम् | बहिरङ्गलक्षणत्वादेव ||

(the existence of) this (Par. LI.), should merely teach us that Par. L. is not universally valid, (than that it should indicate the existence of a new Paribhâshâ).

Because then this (Par. LI. is rejected as unnecessary), the substitution of a semivowel for the first (vowel उ) in पटु+ई+आ has in the Bhâshya on P. I., 1, 57 been accounted for by the fact that the substitution of a semivowel for the subsequent (vowel ई) is by Par. L. *asiddha*, (which could not have been done had Par. LI. been adopted by the author of the Bhâshya).[1] For the same reason has this (Par. LI.) not been mentioned in the Bhâshya anywhere except (in the one passage on) P. I., 4, 2. The[2] author of the Bhâshya) has for the same reason stated in the Bhâshya[3] on P. VI., 1, 108, after having started (in his discussion) from the Antaranga-paribhâshâ, that in (the Bhâshya on) P. I., 4, 2 many objects of that (Paribhâshâ) have been (enumerated) for the sake of which it must be adopted, (but) that it should not be applied whenever any wrong forms would

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1. Now one might say that, even if Par. LI. did exist, it would not be applicable in the case of पटूआ because here the *bahiranga* substitution of य् for ई does not take effect before the *antaranga* substitution of व् for उ. Nâgojibhaṭṭa says therefore: 'For the same reason.....' See Par. L. pag. 261.

2. Now one might object that, if Par. LI. has been mentioned once in the Bhâshya, this is a sufficient authority. Nâgojibhaṭṭa says therefore: 'The author of the Bhâshya.....

3. See Bhâshya on P. VI., 1, 108: इदं तर्हि प्रयोजनम् । वृक्षा अत्र । प्लक्षा अत्र । पूर्वसवर्णश्च प्राप्नोति बहिरङ्गलक्षणश्च वर्णविकारः (*viz.* in वृक्ष-अस्+अत्र) । अतो रोरप्लुतादप्लुते [६.१.११३] इत्युत्वम् । पूर्वसवर्णो भवत्यन्तरङ्गः । न चावश्यमिदमेव प्रयोजनम् । आद्ये योगे बहूनि प्रयोजनानि सन्ति तदर्थमेषा परिभाषा कर्तव्या प्रतिविधेयं दोषेषु ॥

result (from its application ;)[1] and (the same passage) suggests that 'it should not be applied' can only mean that it should not be regarded as universally valid, (or, in other words, should not be regarded as valid) in *all* cases where it is applicable.[2] Sapienti sat.[3]

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1. P. Now one might say that this does not prove the non-existence of Par. LI. because the latter may be regarded as one of the *Pratividhânas* of the Antaranga-paribhâshâ. Therefore Nâgojibhaṭṭa goes on to say: प्रतिविधानं च...

2. P. The expression प्रतिविधेयं दोषेषु shows that *one* Pratividhâna (*viz.* अनित्यत्व) must be resorted to in all cases where wrong forms would result from the application of the Antaranga-paribhâshâ, and that this Pratividhâna must be different from the Pratividhânas that are given in the Bhâshya on P. I., 4, 2; otherwise Patanjali would have said दोषेषु प्रतिविधानान्युक्तानि, or, if he had approved of the Pratividhânas given on P. I., 4, 2, he would not have said anything on P. VI., 1, 108. The Bhâshya on P. I., 4, 2 is therefore *Ekades'yukti*.

3. In अक्षयू therefore the substitution of ऊ for व्, although it is *bahiranga* in regard to the substitution of य् for इ, is not *asiddha*, because the Antaranga-paribhâshâ is not applied in this case.

PARIBHÂSHÂ LII.

Now one might say that (if) then (Par. L. were valid in all except the particular cases stated above, it ought to be applied) *e. g.* in (the formation of) गोमत्प्रियः[1] (from गोमत्-सु+प्रिय-सु, and

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1. गोमत्प्रिय is a Bahuvrîhi-compound, गोमान्प्रियो यस्य सः. The substitution by P. VI., 1, 68 of Lopa for the Nomin. termination सु in गोमत्-सु is *antaranga* because it is not caused by anything following; that of लुक् for सु by P. II., 4, 71 is *bahiranga*. If सु did disappear by the substitution of Lopa, all the operations dependent on सु would by P. I., 1,

in that case the substitution of) Lopa (for the सु of गोमत्-सु, which is taught in P. VI., 1, 68,) ought, being *antaranga*, to supersede the *bahiranga* (substitution of) लुक् (for the same सु, which is taught in P. II., 4, 71. The latter substitution is *bahiranga*) because it is dependent on the circumstance that (गोमत्प्रिय) is a compound (base and as such) made up of two words (*viz.* of गोमत् and प्रिय, and because it therefore indirectly[1] depends on two words. If Lopa were accordingly substituted for the सु of गोमत्-सु, गोमत् ought by P. I., 1, 62 and VII., 1, 70 etc.) to receive (the augment) नुम् etc. (The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore :

P. LII : A *bahiranga* (substitution of) लुक् supersedes even *antaranga* rules.[2]

The rule P. VII., 2, 98 indicates (the existence of) this (Paribhâshâ). It indicates this (Paribhâshâ) because it would be useless (if the Paribhâshâ did not exist); for (in that case the substitution of त्व and म for युष्म and अस्म) in (the formation of such forms as) त्वत्कृत etc. (from युष्मद्-टा+कृत etc.) would result (already) from (the operation taught in) P. VII., 2, 97 which is caused by the termination (टा) and therefore *antaranga* in regard to (the substitution of) लुक् (for टा, which depends on the composition of the two words युष्मद् and कृत).[3]

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62 nevertheless take place, *i. e.* गोमत्-सु would even in the compound become गोमान् ; but when सु disappears by the substitution of लुक्, those operations do in accordance with P. I., 1, 63 not take effect, or, in other words, गोमत्-सु becomes गोमत् in the compound.

1. P. परंपरया तस्यास्य क्वचिदङ्गीकारात्. See pag. 237, note 1.

2. Accordingly in the case of गोमत्-सु+प्रिय-सु, लुक् (not Lopa) is substituted for the सु of गोमत्-सु.

3. *I. e.* In accordance with Par. I. त्व would be substituted for युष्म

If one objects that (even without this Paribhâshâ) the rule (P. VII., 2, 98) is necessary because it is meant to teach that in त्वत्पुत्र 'thy son' etc.[1] (the substitutes त्व and म) supersede तव and मम etc., (which, had the rule VII., 2, 98 not been given, would in these instances have been substituted for युष्म and अस्म by P. VII., 2, 96 etc.), then, the author of the Bhâshya (on P. VII., 2, 98) remarks, the validity of the word मपर्यन्तस्य 'for that (portion of युष्मद् and अस्मद्) which ends with म' in that (rule VII., 2, 98) indicates (the existence of) this (Paribhâshâ).[2]

(In case the *whole* rule P. VII., 2, 98 is nevertheless regarded as the Jnâpaka of the present Paribhâshâ, one might further object that the word मपर्यन्त in that rule at any rate does not indicate the existence of this Paribhâshâ, because it is necessary when the affixes क्विप् etc. are added to the crude forms युष्मद् etc.). However (this objection would be futile; for the affix) क्विप् (which is added to other crude forms to denote the sense) 'to behave like (that which is denoted by the crude form)',[3] is not added to युष्मद् etc. because the Bhâshya makes the whole rule

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by P. VII., 2, 97, and लुक् for the termination टा afterwards by P. II, 4, 71. But when by the present Paribhâshâ लुक् has first been substituted for the termination टा, P. VII., 2, 97 ceases to be applicable and we want the rule P. VII., 2, 98 to teach us that त्व is substituted for युष्म. (In the commentary of the Calcutta and of Boethlingk's Edition on P. VII., 2, 98 the words लुकोऽन्तरङ्गत्वात् are incorrect; they ought either to be changed to लुको बहिरङ्गत्वात् or the word लुक् ought to be dropped.)

1. If P. VII, 2., 98 did not exist, we should be obliged in the case of युष्मद्-ङस्+पुत्र: to substitute तव for युष्म by P. VII., 2, 96; or in the case of तुभ्यं हितम्, त्वद्धितम्, to substitute तुभ्य for युष्म by P. VII., 2, 95; similarly तव for युष्म in the case of तवायम्, त्वदीय: etc.

2. See below.

3. See Si. Kau. II., pag. 224.

indicate (this Paribhâshâ), and because on the authority of the Bhâshya on the rule P. VII. 1, 54, which teaches (the addition of the augment) नुट्, that (affix) क्विप् is not added to (crude forms) that end in a consonant.[1] (And) one ought (further) to know that for exactly the same reason[2] (the affix) णिच् also, which is added to (other) crude forms,[3] is never employed after the crude forms (युष्मद् and अस्मद्) when they denote only one (person). This proves the futility of (the objection) that the employment of the word प्रत्यय (in P. VII., 2, 98) serves a purpose (even when this Paribhâshâ does not exist), *viz.* (the purpose) of showing that (त्व and म) are (by P. VII., 2, 98) substituted (for युष्म and अस्म) when (the affixes क्विप् and णिच् are added to युष्मद् and अस्मद्).[4]

Now[5] one might raise the following objection: 'The validity of मपर्यन्तस्य (in P. VII., 2, 98) serves likewise a purpose (even if the present Paribhâshâ be not adopted, *viz.* that) of preventing

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1. See Bhâshya on P. VII., 1, 54: इत्कार्याभावादत्र (in आम् P. III., 1, 35) इत्संज्ञा न भविष्यति। इदमस्तीत्कार्यं मिदचोऽन्त्यात्परः [१.१.४७] इत्यचामन्त्यात्परो यथा स्यात्। प्रत्ययान्तादयं विधीयते। तत्र नास्ति विशेषो मिदचोऽन्त्यात्पर इति वा परत्वे प्रत्ययः पर इति वा॥

• Kaiyaṭa: प्रत्ययान्तादिति। ते चाजन्ताः। ननु हलन्तेभ्य आचारक्विबन्तेभ्य आमस्त्वेव। नैतदस्ति। एकीयमतमेतत्। तत्रापि हलन्तेभ्योऽनभिधानादाचारक्विबभावः॥

2. *Viz.* because the whole rule P. VII., 2, 98 has in the Bhâshya been regarded as Jnâpaka of the present Paribhâshâ.

3. See Si. Kau. II., p. 185.

4. See Chitprabhâ: वस्तुनस्त्वनभिधानेऽत्र प्रमाणं चिन्त्यं संपूर्णसूत्रज्ञापकपरभाष्यस्य तु यदयं षत्वतुकोरसिद्ध इत्यादितिवदप्युपपत्तेः प्रमाणशैथिल्यान्मपर्यन्तानुवृत्तेर्ज्ञापकत्वमुक्तं तदेवेदानीमुपपादयितुमाशङ्क्यते नन्विति।

5. If the present Paribhâshâ did not exist we might reason thus: In the formation of त्वत्तुल from युष्मद्-ङस्+तुल two rules apply simultaneously, P. VII., 2, 96 which teaches the substitution of तव for युष्म, and P. II., 4, 71 which teaches the substitution of लुक् for ङस्; the former

the substitution (of त्व and म) for the whole[1] (of युष्मद् and अस्मद्); nor is it possible to say that the validity of that (word मपर्यन्तस्य) is of no use because by the maxim "whatever is taught in an *Apavâda* or special rule takes the same place as that which is taught in the general rule", (a maxim which is) approved of in the Bhâshya on P. VI., 4, 22, the substitutes (त्व and म taught in P. VII., 2, 98) can be substituted only for that (portion of युष्मद् and अस्मद्) which ends with म (just as तव and मम etc. of P. VII., 2, 96 etc. are substituted only for that portion); for that (maxim) is set aside in the case of श्नम्[2] (P. III., 1, 78), of शकच् (in P. V., 3, 71) etc., (and is therefore not universally valid'.)

This (objection, however,) is (likewise) futile; for although in the case of श्नम् that (maxim) is rendered invalid by the fact that श्नम् is distinguished by an indicatory म्, and in

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of these rules being *antaranga*, it ought by Par. L. to take effect first, and we ought accordingly to substitute तव for युष्म. But now we are taught by the *Apavâda* or special rule P. VII., 2, 98 that in a case like the present one त्व shall be substituted instead of the तव which should have been substituted by the general rule VII., 2, 96; here it is unnecessary to state *for what* त्व shall be substituted, because we know from the maxim 'whatever is taught in an *Apavâda* or special rule takes the same place as that which is taught in the general rule,' that त्व must be substituted, for the same portion of युष्मद् for which तव would have been substituted, *i. e.* for युष्म. In case therefore the present Paribhâshâ does not exist, the word मपर्यन्तस्य need not be valid in P. VII., 2, 98; and if it *is* valid, its validity proves the existence of the present Paribhâshâ. See below.

1. See P. I., 1, 55.

2. श्नम् is placed after the root, its *Apavâda* श्नम् after the (last) vowel of the root. P. III., 1, 68; 78; I., 1, 47.—Affixes are added to the end, but शकच् before the last vowel, and बहुच् at the beginning.

the case of बहुच् (in P. V., 3, 68) by the employment of the word पुरस्तात् (in that rule), and in the case of अकच् by the words प्राक् टेः (in P. V., 3, 71), yet there is nothing to show why (the maxim) 'whatever is taught in an *Apavâda*'[1] should be abandoned in the case under discussion (*i. e.* in the case of the substitution of त्व and म by P. VII., 2, 98. Moreover we have actual proof for its universal validity. Pâṇini, namely,) teaches by the rule IV., 3, 2 that युष्माक etc. are substituted (for युष्मद् etc.; and) his doing so has a sense only because (that maxim is universally valid); if it were otherwise, (Pâṇini) would have taught simply the substitution of अकङ् (for the final[2] of युष्मद् etc.[3] But) because, had अकङ् been (substituted for the final of युष्मद् etc.), the substitutes तवक etc. (which are taught in the rule P. IV., 3, 3 which is an) *Apavâda* (of P. IV., 3, 2,) would by the said maxim have been substituted (likewise only) for the final (of युष्मद् etc.), therefore (Pâṇini) teaches (in IV., 3, 2 the substitution of) युष्माक etc., and the very fact of his doing so indicates (the universal validity of) that (maxim).—Although[4] (one might say that) the above maxim (ought to be regarded as valid)[5] when the view of (the author of) the Vârttikas is adopted that (an *Apavâda* or special rule) supersedes (a general rule) when both (if they were to take

1. उत्सर्गस्य; बाधाभावे सर्वत्र प्रवर्तमानस्योत्सर्गोति न्यायस्य. P.

2. See P. I., 1, 53.

3. तवक etc. would nevertheless have been substituted for the whole of युष्मद् etc., because they contain more letters than one.

4. See Kaiyaṭa on P. II., 3, 1: विरोधो बाधकारणं न विशेषविधानमेव। वार्त्तिककारस्य चेदं दर्शनम्। भाष्यकारस्तु विरोधाभावेऽपि विशेषविधानमालिंगेव बाधकत्वमन्यलावीत्। See Par. LVII.

5. P. विरोधोऽप्यपवादत्वेन बाधे कारणं न विशेषविधानमेव स च समानदेशत्वे सत्येव घटते नान्यथेति तन्मते तस्यावश्यकत्वमिति भावः।

effect together) would come into conflict (with one another), whereas it need not be (considered as) necessarily valid (when the opinion of) the author of the Bhâshya (is adhered to) who, as is shown by Kaiyaṭa on P. II., 3, 1, demands that, contrary (to the view of the author of the Vârttikas, an *Apavâda*) shall supersede (a general rule) also in the absence of any conflict, (*i. e.*) even when (both the *Apavâda* and the general rule) might take effect (together),—nevertheless (the maxim) 'whatever is taught in an *Apavâda*' *is* adopted because (its validity is) indicated by the fact that (Pâṇini in IV., 3, 2) teaches the substitution of युष्माक etc., and we are consequently not wrong (when we apply it) in the case under discussion; the Bhâshya on P. VII., 2, 98[1] moreover authorises us to accept it as valid.

(We have) then (to say that) the validity of मपर्यन्तस्य (in P. VII., 2, 98) is meant to inform us that in (the case of) त्वकृत etc. (त्व and म) are substituted for that (portion of युष्मद् and अस्मद् which ends with म; as this however (in the absence of the present Paribhâshâ) would result already from P. VII. 2., 97, because (the substitution of त्व and म, being dependent on the case-termination,) is *antaranga* (in regard to the substitution of लुक् for the same case-termination), that (validity of मपर्यन्तस्य) would (without the present Paribhâshâ) serve no purpose, and it indicates for that reason (the existence of) this (Paribhâshâ). But when (the existence of) this (Paribhâshâ) has once been indicated, (the substitution of) तव etc. (which is taught in P. VII., 2, 96 etc.) has no concern (with युष्मद् and अस्मद्) in instances that fall under the rule P. VII., 2, 98 (*viz.* because in accordance with the present Paribhâshâ the case-termination of युष्मद् etc.

1. *Viz.* which makes the validity of मपर्यन्तस्य in P. VII., 2, 98 indicate the existence of the present Paribhâshâ.

has disappeared by the substitution of लुक्, the latter rule) can therefore no longer be an *Apavâda* (of P. VII., 2, 96 etc.) and, (the maxim 'whatever is taught in an *Apavâda*' being) consequently (inapplicable), the (validity of मपर्यन्तस्य in P. VII., 2, 98) serves a purpose, *viz.* that of showing that (त्व and म of P. VII., 2, 98) are substituted only for that (portion of युष्मद् and अस्मद्) which ends with म. This is the sense of that (passage of the Bhâshya which was quoted above).[1]

When Haradatta, however, maintains that the validity of that (word मपर्यन्तस्य in P. VII., 2, 98) would serve no purpose, if (in the absence of the present Paribhâshâ) the *antaranga* (substitutions of तव etc. which are taught in P. VII., 2, 96 etc.) were to take place (first), because (in that case) a following affix or a second member (of a compound) could not possibly be preceded by something ending with म, and that (the validity of मपर्यन्तस्य) indicates for *that* reason (the existence of the present Paribhâshâ),—he is wrong, because even *antaranga* rules are superseded by *Apavâdas*,[2] and because accordingly the (operations that are taught in P. VII., 2, 96 etc.) could never take place in instances that fall under P. VII., 2, 98 (which *is* an *Apavâda* of P. VII., 2, 96 etc.).

(Some) say that in reality the (validity of मपर्यन्तस्य in P. VII., 2, 98) indicates (the existence of the present Paribhâshâ) only when the view of the (author of the) Vârttikas[3] is adopted, whereas, in case the view of the (author of the) Bhâshya be accepted, the information conveyed by this (Paribhâshâ) must be regarded as an independent statement.

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1. तदाशयः *i. e.* भाष्याशयः P. See above pag. 279.
2. See Par. LVII.
3. See above pag. 282.

Some say that this (Paribhâshâ) concerns only that (substitution of) लुक् which is taught in P. II., 4, 71; (but) on the authority of the Bhâshya (and Kaiyaṭa) on P. VI., 1, 69 and on P. VII., 3, 45 it concerns every (substitution of) लुक् whatsoever. In the former passage it has been stated in the Bhâshya that in (the Vocative) हे लघु etc. लुक् is—in accordance with this Paribhâshâ—(substituted by P. VII., 1, 23 for the termination सु), in preference to the Lopa[1] (which might have been substi-

1. Vocative लघु+सु; P. VI, 1, 69 Lopa for सु;
P. VII., 1, 23 लुक् for सु;

लुक् is substituted in accordance with the present Paribhâshâ; if Lopa had been substituted, लघु would by P. I., 1, 62 and VII., 3, 108 have formed लघो in the Vocative. (See Si. Kau. I., p, 142; M. Muller's Skr. Gr. 2nd Ed. pag. 110, note; and the Bhâshya on P. VII., 1, 73 quoted below by Kaiyaṭa).—It does not matter that Lopa and लुक् are here not *antaranga* and *bahiranga*, for the Paribhâshâ teaches that लुक् (like an *Apavâda*) supersedes not only *antaranga*, but also *pûrva*, *para*, and *nitya* rules; for the same reason the Vipratishedha-rule P. I., 4, 2 is not applicable in the present instance.

See Bhâshya on P. VI., 1, 69:

अपृक्तसंबुद्धिलोपाभ्यां लुग्भवति विप्रतिषेधेन। अपृक्तलोपस्यावकाशः। गोमान् यवमान्। लुकोऽवकाशः। लघु जतु। इहोभयं प्राप्नोति। तद्ब्राह्मणकुलं यद्ब्राह्मणकुलम्॥ संबुद्धिलोपस्यावकाशः। अग्ने वायो। लुकः। स एव। इहोभयं प्राप्नोति। हे लघु हे जतु। लुग्भवति विप्रतिषेधेन॥ स तर्हि विप्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः। न वक्तव्यः। न वा लोपलुकोर्लुगवधारणाद्यथानडुह्यत इति। न वार्थो विप्रतिषेधेन। किं कारणम्। लोपलुकोर्लुगवधारणात्। लोपलुकोर्हि लुगवधार्यते। लुग्लोपयणयवावादेशेभ्यो यथानडुह्यत इति। तद्यथा। अनड्वानित्याचरत्यनडुह्यत इत्यत्र लोपलुकोर्लुगवधार्यते॥

Kaiyaṭa: हे लघ्विति। लुकि कृते प्रत्ययलक्षणप्रतिषेधात्संबुद्धिगुणाभावः। इकोऽचि विभक्तौ [७.१.७३] इत्यत्र सर्वग्रहणस्य प्रयोजनं वक्ष्यत इह किंचिल्लाभो इति। ततो गुणेन भाव्यम्॥ न वक्तव्य इति। न व्याख्यातव्यः॥ कस्मादित्याह। न वीति। अन्तरङ्गानपि विधीन्बाधमानो लुग्बलवानित्यतुल्यबलेन लोपेन स्पर्द्धां नार्हतीति विप्रतिषेधो नोपन्यसनीयः॥ अनडुह्यत इति। सुलोपे सति प्रत्ययलक्षणेन नुमागमो स्यात् लुकि प्रत्ययलक्षणप्रतिषेधान्न भवतः॥

tuted for सु by P. VI., 1, 69). In the latter passage Kaiyaṭa has made the following statement: 'Not[1] merely the (substitution of) लुक् for a case-termination, but every (substitution of) लुक् whatsoever supersedes even *antaranga* rules. For this reason is the (radical) nasal in सनीखंस etc. not elided.[2] In (the formation of) पञ्चखट्व "bartered for five beds" (from पञ्चन्+खट्व-टाप्+ठक्)[3] etc. लुक् is (for the same reason by P. I., 2, 49) substituted for (the feminine affix) टाप् already before the one (vowel आ) is substituted (for the final अ of खट्व and the fem. affix आ); had लुक् on the other hand been substituted after the substitution of the one (आ for अ+आ), then (the compound) would not have ended in the letter अ.'

Kaiyaṭa's statement on P. II., 4, 62 must, because it is contrary to the above, be regarded as an (incorrect) conceit of his own. (The author of) the Bhâshya (namely on P. II., 4, 62) assumes that, after (the substitution of) लुक् for the case-termination (शस्) in the formation of अन्यङ्ग 'surpassing the Anga kings' (from अति+अङ्ग-अण्-शस्),[4] लुक् would on account of the absence of

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1. See Kaiyaṭa on P. VII., 3, 45: अन्तरङ्गाश्च विभक्तिवहिरङ्गो लुगाश्रयेण न सुब्लुगेव। तथा च सनीखंस....पञ्चखट्व इत्यादौ टाप्ग्रहणेन सहैकादेशो न भवति। अन्यथैकादेशस्यादिवद्भावाट्टाब्ग्रहणेन ग्रहणाल्लुकि कृतेऽकारस्य श्रवणं न स्यात्॥

2. सनीखंस्-यङ्-अ; P. VI. 4, 24, Lopa for the penult. nasal before यङ्; P. II., 4, 74, लुक् for यङ्; by the present Paribhâshâ लुक् is substituted first for यङ्, and afterwards the substitution of Lopa for the penult. nasal is prevented by P. I., 1, 63.—P. अन्यथा यङ्लुगादिना पूर्वोपस्थाननिमित्तकत्वेनान्तरङ्गत्वाच्च लुगेव [२.४.७४] इति लुकः प्रागपः प्रागेव यानिदिनाम् [६.४.२४] इति स्यादिति भावः॥

3. For ठक् लुक् is substituted by P. IV., 1, 88.

4. 'A king of the अङ्ग' = अङ्ग-अण्, P. IV., 1, 170; 'surpassing the kings of the Angas' = अति+अङ्ग-अण्-शस्; लुक् for the Taddhita affix अण् by P. II., 4, 62; लुक् for the case-termination शस् by P. II., 4, 71.

the plural termination after (अङ्-अण्) not be (substituted) for the Taddhâja (affix अण्); Kaiyaṭa, when commenting hereon raises first the question whether the (substitution of) लुक् (for the Taddhâja affix अण्) would by the present Paribhâshâ supersede the (substitution of) लुक् for the case-termination (शस्), and subsequently (he answers this question in the negative and) states that this (Paribhâshâ) assigns greater force only to the (substitution of) लुक् for a case-termination (which is taught in P. II., 4, 71.[1] Herein Kaiyaṭa is wrong); he should have answered the question (as to the superior force of the substitution of लुक् for the Taddhâja affix) in the negative by stating (that that substitution cannot supersede the substitution of लुक् for the case-termination), because one (substitution of) लुक् cannot possibly be said to possess greater force than another (substitution of) लुक्.

We[2] learn from this Paribhâshâ that any (substitution of) लुक् which makes the causes of a (*para*, *nitya*, or) *antaranga* (operation) disappear, and likewise the composition[3] etc. that gives rise to such (a substitution of लुक्), possesses greater force

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1. See Kaiyaṭa on P. II., 4, 62: अन्तरङ्गानपि विधीन्त्सुपो धातुप्रातिपदिकयोः [२.४.७१] इत्ययं लुक् प्रत्ययोत्तरपदयोश्च [७.२.९८] इति ज्ञापकादस्यैवाल संभवाद्भाषत इति भावः।

2. P. Although the लुक् of the present Paribhâshâ denotes every लुक्, nevertheless the Bhâshya on P. II., 4, 62 shows that *only that* लुक्, which destroys the cause of another operation, is stronger than that operation, because such is the case in the instances स्रुघ्न etc. that are formed by the Jnâpaka-rule P. VII., 2, 98. To indicate this Nâgojibhaṭṭa adds: 'We learn.....'

3. P. 'or the addition of a Taddhita-affix etc.'

(than that *para, nitya,* or *antaranga* operation);[1] more of has elsewhere.[2] on

1. गोमत्-सु is therefore compounded with प्रिय-सु before गोमत् receives the augment नुम् etc; subsequently लुक् is substituted for सु, and afterwards नुम् etc. cannot be added.

2. P. The present Paribhâshâ is not universally valid because its existance is established by a Jnâpaka. (See Par. CXVI).

अत एव न यासयोः [७.३.४५] इति सूत्रस्थप्रागुक्तभाष्यसंगतिस्तत्यप्रागुक्तकैयटस्तु चिन्त्य एवेत्यादि स्पष्टमुद्द्योतादौ । तदाहेत्यन्यत्रेति ॥

Extract from the Bhâshya[1] on P. VII., 2, 98:

प्रत्ययोत्तरपदयोश्च ॥ किमर्थमिदमुच्यते न त्वमावेकवचने [७.२. ९७] इत्येव सिद्धम् । न सिध्यति । किं कारणम् । एकवचनाभावात् । एकवचन इत्युच्यते न चात्रैकवचनं पश्यामः । प्रत्ययलक्षणेन । न लुमताङ्गस्य [१. १. ६३] इति प्रत्ययलक्षणस्य प्रतिषेधः । एवं तर्हीदमिह संप्रधार्यं लुक् क्रियतामादेशा इति किमत्र कर्तव्यम् । परत्वादादेशाः । नित्यो लुक् कृतेष्वप्यादेशेषु प्राप्नोत्यकृतेष्वपि । अन्तरङ्गा आदेशाः । एवं तर्हि सिद्धे सति यत्प्रत्ययोत्तरपदयोस्त्वमौ शास्ति तज्ज्ञापयत्याचार्योऽन्तरङ्गानपि विधीन्बाधित्वा बहिरङ्गो लुग्भवतीति । किमेतस्य ज्ञापने प्रयोजनम् । गोमान्प्रियो यस्य **गोमत्प्रियो** यवमत्प्रियो गोमानिवाचरति गोमत्यते यवमत्यतेऽन्तरङ्गानपि नुमादीन्बहिरङ्गो लुग्बाधत इति । नैतदस्ति ज्ञा-

1. Kaiyaṭa: प्रत्ययोत्तरपदयोश्च ॥ अन्तरङ्गानिति । नित्यादप्यन्तरङ्गो बलीयस्तथा चोक्तं परनित्यान्तरङ्गापवादविप्रयो विरोधिसंनिपाते तेषां मिथःप्रसङ्गे परबलीयस्त्वमिति ॥ गोमत्प्रिय इति । अत्रान्तरङ्गा एकपदाश्रयत्वात्सुलोपादयः स्युः पदद्वयाश्रयत्वाद्बहिरङ्गो लुगिति गोमान्प्रिय इति स्यात् । अस्मिंस्तु ज्ञापके सत्यन्तरङ्गाण्यपि कार्याणि बाधित्वा लुग्भवति ततो न लुमताङ्गस्येति प्रत्ययलक्षणप्रतिषेधान्नुमोदीर्घाभावे गोमत्प्रिय इति सिध्यति ॥ सुपो धातुप्रातिपदिकयोः [२.४.७१] इत्यस्यैव बाधकत्वमनेन ज्ञाप्यते तस्यैवेह संभवात् । केचित्तु सामान्यापेक्षया

पकम् । अस्त्यन्यदेतस्य वचने प्रयोजनम् । किम् । येऽन्य एकवचनादेशाः प्राप्नुवन्ति तद्बाधनार्थमेतत्स्यात् । तद्यथा तव पुत्रस्त्वत्पुत्रो मम पुत्रो मत्पुत्रस्तुभ्यं हितं त्वद्धितं मह्यं हितं मद्धितमिति । यत्तर्हि मपर्यन्तग्रहणमनुवर्तयति । यद्यत्रान्य एकवचनादेशाः स्युर्मपर्यन्तानुवृत्तिरनर्थिका स्यात् ॥

ज्ञापकत्वाश्रयालुङ्ज्ञालस्य बलवत्त्वाश्रयेण व्यवहारदर्शनालुङ्ज्ञालं बाधकं ज्ञापयत इत्याहुः ॥ येऽन्य इति । एकवचनाधिकारादेकवचनानामादेशान्तराणां त्वमौ बाधकौ स्यातां न तु ज्ञापकाविति यावत् ॥ यत्तर्हीति । केचिद्व्याचक्षते । यद्यादेशान्तराणां त्वमौ बाधकौ स्यातां तदा मपर्यन्तग्रहणानुवृत्तिमन्तरेणोत्सर्गसमानदेशत्वादपवादानां मपर्यन्तस्य त्वमो सिद्धावेति किं तदनुवृत्त्या । अनुवृत्त्या तु ज्ञाप्यते प्रागेव लुकि कृते विभक्त्यभावादसत्स्वादेशान्तरेषु त्वमौ विधीयेते इति । एतच्चायुक्तम् । नायं नियोग उत्सर्गसमानदेशोऽपवाद इति श्वंयुजकर्चां भिन्नदेशानामप्यपवादत्वदर्शनात् । तत्रश्चासत्यां मपर्यन्तानुवृत्तावादेशान्तराणामपि बाधकौ त्वमौ सर्वादेशौ स्यातामनेकाल्त्वादिति सम्प्रयोजना मपर्यन्तानुवृत्तिः । तस्मादन्यथा व्याख्यायते । तवममाद्यश्च आदेशाः स्थानिप्रकृत्यर्थमिहानुवर्तन्ते तत्र तवादीनां प्रसङ्गे सिद्धयोस्त्वमयोर्मपर्यन्तानुवृत्तिस्त्वया कृतं त्वत्कृतमित्याद्यर्थो भवन्ती लुको बाधकत्वं ज्ञापयति । ततश्च तवाद्यनुवृत्तिसहिता मपर्यन्तानुवृत्तिर्ज्ञापनाय भवति केवला हि मपर्यन्तानुवृत्तिर्लाघवाय स्यात् । गरीयसी हि तवाद्यनुवृत्त्या स्थानिप्रकृतिः । ततो ज्ञापनाय न प्रभवेत् । तस्मात्तवाद्यनुवृत्तिसहिता मपर्यन्तानुवृत्तिर्यथोक्तप्रकारेण यथोक्तार्थज्ञापनायालम् ॥

PARIBHÂSHÂ LIII.

Now one might say that (if) then (Par. L. were valid in all except the particular cases stated above), the Guṇa (vowel ए) ought in (the formation of) सौमेन्द्र (from सोम-इन्द्र+अण्) to be substituted (for the अ of सोम and the इ of इन्द्र), because (its substitution) is *antaranga* (when compared with the substitution by P. VII., 3, 21 of Vṛiddhi for the first vowels of सोम and इन्द्र; and that after the substitution of Guṇa) the prohibition of (the

substitution of) Vṛiddhi (for the इ of इन्द्र) which is contained in the rule P. VII., 3, 22 would serve no purpose, because the first member (of the compound) would (after the substitution of Guṇa) no longer be followed by the word इन्द्र.[1]

(Nor would it be correct to object[2] that even after the substitution of Guṇa इन्द्र would still, though changed to एन्द्र, follow upon the first member of the compound ; for) it is forbidden to regard (any single substitute like ए) both as the final (of what precedes) and at the same time as the initial (of what follows).[3]

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1. सोम - इन्द्र+अण् (P. IV., 2, 24); here Vṛiddhi would by P. VII., 3, 21 be substituted for the first vowel of सोम and also for the first vowel of इन्द्र, if P. VII., 3, 22 did not forbid the substitution of Vṛiddhi for the इ of इन्द्र, when the latter is the second member of a Devatâ-dvandva. Accordingly Vṛiddhi is substituted only for the ओ of सोम, and subsequently सौम-इन्द्र are combined in सौमेन्द्र. Now however the objection is raised that the substitution of ए for the final of सोम and the initial of इन्द्र is *antaranga* when compared with the substitution of Vṛiddhi for the औ of सोम and the इ of इन्द्र, and that accordingly it ought by Par. L. to take effect first; that when इन्द्र has thus disappeared, P. VII., 3, 21 can no longer teach the substitution of Vṛiddhi for its first vowel, and that consequently the rule P. VII., 3, 22, which is meant to prevent that substitution of Vṛiddhi, serves no purpose and is superfluous.

2. One might object that the substitute ए in सौमेन्द्र may by P. VI., 1, 85 be regarded both as the final of the first member and as the initial of the second member, that P. VII., 3, 21 would therefore apply even after the substitution of ए, and that consequently P. VII., 3, 22, in preventing the substitution of Vṛiddhi for the first vowel of the second member, *would* serve a purpose. This objection is refuted by the statement that ए cannot be regarded both as the final of the first member and also as the initial of the second member.

3. See Bhâshya on P. VI. 1, 85: तत्र यस्यान्तादिवत्तन्निर्देशः । तत्र यस्यान्तादिवद्भाव इष्यते तन्निर्देशः कर्तव्यः । अस्यान्तवद्भवतीत्यस्यादिवद्भवतीति वक्तव्यम् । सिद्धं

Moreover[1], though that portion (of सोमेन्द्र) which ends with the substitute (ए) may be the first member (of the compound), because, even if (the substitute ए) cannot be regarded both as the final (of what precedes) and as the initial (of what follows), it may (at any rate) be regarded as the final of what precedes,—and though in that case the (remaining) portion न्द्र might by Par. XXXVII., or[2], provided that it is *not* (forbidden) to regard

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तु पूर्वपराधिकारात् । सिद्धमेतत् । कथम् । पूर्वपराधिकारात् । पूर्वपरयोरिति वर्तते । पूर्वस्य कार्यं प्रत्यन्तवद्भवति परस्य कार्यं प्रत्यादिवद्भवति । अथ यत्रोभयमाश्रीयते किं तत्र पूर्वस्यान्तवद्भवत्याहोस्वित्परस्यादिवद्भवति । उभयत आश्रये नान्तादिवत् । किं वक्तव्यमेतत् । न हि । कथमनुच्यमानं गम्यते । लौकिकोऽयं दृष्टान्तः । तद्यथा लोके यो द्वयोरतुल्यबलयोरेकः प्रेष्यो भवति स तयोः पर्यायेण कार्यं करोति यदा तु तमुभौ युगपत्प्रेषयतो नानादिक्षु च कार्यं भवत्यत्र यत्रासावविरोधार्थी भवत्युभयोर्न करोति । किं पुनः कारणमुभयोर्न करोति । यौगपद्यासंभवात् । नास्ति यौगपद्येन संभवः । .....

1. The four objections which are refuted in the following are these: *a*) ए may by P. VI., 1, 85 be regarded as the final of the first member, and the remaining न्द्र as equivalent to इन्द्र by Par. XXXVII; *b*) notwithstanding what has been said above ए *may* be considered both as the final of the first member and at the same time as the initial of the second member which in this case would be एन्द्र; *c*) ए may by P. VI., 1, 85 be regarded as the initial of the second member, *i. e.* एन्द्र as equivalent to इन्द्र, and the preceding सोम् as equivalent to सोम by Par. XXXVII; *d*) सोम् may be regarded as equivalent to सोम by Par. XXXVII., and एन्द्र as equivalent to इन्द्र by the same Paribhâshâ. By each of these objections the objector tries to prove that P. VII., 3, 21 would apply even after the substitution of ए, and that P. VII., 3, 22 in preventing the taking effect of that rule does serve a purpose.

2. P. ननूभयत आश्रय इति निर्मूलं वचिघटितशास्त्रस्याहार्यारोपविभक्तित्वेन तस्य च विरुद्धद्वयविषयकत्वस्यापि युगपत्संभवेन लौकिकन्यायेनैकेनास्य सिद्धत्वभावादन्तादिवत्त्वेऽपि व्यवर्गाभावेनोत्सर्गापवादत्वरूपेण्यभावेनाभीयादित्यादिसिद्धेश्च । उत्सर्गस्यायनौ [८.२.१९] अन्तादिवच्च [६.१.८५] न पदान्त [१.१.५८] गोस्त्रियोः [१.२.४८] इत्यादिसूत्रभाष्ये तदुल्लेखस्त्वेकदेशिन इति स्पष्टमुद्द्योतादर्शने आहोभयेति ॥

(any single substitute by P. VI., 1, 85) both as the final (of what precedes) and at the same time as the initial (of what follows, the portion एन्द्र) by that (very rule P. VI., 1, 85) be (regarded as) the second member (of the compound),— still the (substitution of) Vṛiddhi (taught in P. VII., 3, 21) would have no concern with this (second member) because the latter does not contain any vowel,[1] one (of its vowels) having disappeared by the substitution of the one (vowel ए for अ+इ) and the other by the elision taught in P. VI., 4, 148 which is *nitya*.[2]

Nor is it correct to propose that (the substitute ए) should (by P. VI., 1, 85) be regarded as the initial of what follows, and that (portion of the compound) which (in this case) would begin with the substitute ए, as the second member (of the compound,— and to say that, if this proposal were carried out), the (substitution of Vṛiddhi which is taught in P. VII., 3, 21) *would* concern (the second member of the compound) ; for, as the Vṛiddhi (taught in P. VII., 3, 21) has to take the place of the first vowel of the second member (*e. g.* of the इ of इन्द्र), it can on account of the absence of that (vowel इ) have no concern (with एन्द्र), because (a single substitute for two vowels) cannot (by P. VI., 1, 85) be regarded as uniform (with either of the two vowels for which it has been substituted).[3] If it were otherwise, ऐस् should, as appears from the Bhâshya, have been substituted for भिस् also in the Instr. Plur. of खट्वा etc., because (the one substitute आ for the अ of खट्वा and the Femin.

1. एन्द्र does contain a vowel but not that vowel इ for which alone Vṛiddhi would be substituted by P. VII., 3, 21 ; see below.

2. *Scil.* and possesses on that account greater force than the subsequent rule P. VII., 3, 21 which teaches the substitution of Vṛiddhi.

3. P. पृथगवस्थानाभ्यामाद्यन्तघटिताभ्यां यो व्यवहारः प्रत्ययत्वप्रातिपदिकत्वसुबन्तत्वादयस्ते कृत्रिकारेश्रस्यागित्यर्थ इति भावः ॥

affix अण), as it is regarded as the final of what precedes, (would also have been considered as equivalent to short अ), and because (in that case the word खट्वा) would have ended in short अ (and would accordingly have fallen under the rule P. VII., 1, 9).[1] For the same reason has it been stated (in the Bhâshya) that in the case of पूर्वेषुकामशम[2] the (substitution of) Vriddhi (for the इ of इषुकामशमी which is taught in P. VII., 3, 14) would not take place if (the substitution of) Guṇa for the अ (of पूर्व and the इ of इषुकामशमी), on account of its being *antaranga*, were to take place (first).[3] Moreover (ऐन्द्र cannot be regarded as equivalent to इन्द्र by Par. XXXVII.), because the change (which इन्द्र under-

1. *I. e.* The Instr. Plur. of खट्वा would have been खट्वैः just as if खट्वा had ended in short अ. See Bhâshya on P. VI., 1, 85:

वर्णाश्रयविधौ च । वर्णाश्रयविधौ च नान्तादिवद्भवतीति वक्तव्यम् । किं प्रयोजनम् । खट्वाभिः.... । इह खट्वाभिर्मालाभिरिति भिस ऐसभवतीत्येस्भावः प्राप्नोति । नैष दोषः । तपरकरणसामर्थ्यान्न भविष्यति । अस्त्यन्यत्तपरकरणे प्रयोजनम् । किम् । कौलालयाभिः शुभयाभिः । .... न वानाद्रूप्यादिदेशात् । न वा वक्तव्यम् । किं कारणम् । अनाद्रूप्यादिदेशात् । न हि तादृप्यमतिदिश्यते । रूपाश्रया वा एते विधयोऽनाद्रूप्यान्न भविष्यन्ति ॥

2. पूर्व-इषुकामशमी+अण्; Guṇa ए for अ+इ *antaranga*; Vriddhi for इ *bahiranga*.

3. *Viz.* because the substitute ए for अ+इ would not be uniform with the initial इ of इषुकामशमी. See Bhâshya on P. VI., 1, 85:

उत्तरपदवृद्धिर्वैकादेशात् । उत्तरपदवृद्धिर्वैकादेशाद्भवति विप्रतिषेधेन । उत्तरपदवृद्धेरवकाशः । पूर्वत्रैगर्नकः । एकादेशस्यावकाशः । दण्डाग्रम् क्षुराग्रम् । इहोभयं प्राप्नोति । पूर्वेषुकामशमः अपरेषुकामशमः । उत्तरपदवृद्धिर्भवति विप्रतिषेधेन । एकादेशप्रसङ्गस्त्वन्तरङ्गबलीयस्त्वात् । एकादेशस्तु प्राप्नोति । किं कारणम् । अन्तरङ्गबलीयस्त्वात् । अन्तरङ्गं बलीयो भवति । तत्र को दोषः । तत्र वृद्धिविधानम् । तत्र वृद्धिर्विधेया । नैष दोषः आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति पूर्वपदोत्तरपदयोस्तावत्कार्यं भवति नैकादेश इति यदयं नेन्द्रस्य परस्य प्रतिषेधं शास्ति । कथं कृत्वा ज्ञापकम् । इन्द्रे द्वावचौ तत्रैको यस्येति लोपेन ह्रियतेऽपर एकादेशेन । अनश्च इन्द्रः संपन्नः । तत्र को वृद्धेः प्रसङ्गः । पश्यति त्वाचार्यः पूर्वपदोत्तरपदयोस्तावत्कार्यं भवति नैकादेश इति ततो नेन्द्रस्य परस्येति प्रतिषेधं शास्ति ॥

goes in becoming एन्द्र) is not a change of one part of it only (but is the result of the combination of the final अ of सोम and the initial इ of इन्द्र). d

All this[1] (the author of) the Bhâshya expresses (in the words): 'Both the vowels of इन्द्र have disappeared, one by the elision taught in P. VI., 4, 148, the other by the substitution of one (vowel for its initial इ and the final vowel of a preceding member); in this manner इन्द्र has become vowelless; how can then (the substitution of) Vriddhi take place (in it)?'

When[2] इन्द्र forms a Dvandva-compound with words like मरुत्, इन्द्र itself must be placed first (in the compound,[3] and the prohibition contained in P. VII., 3, 22 can consequently also in that case not serve any purpose).

(The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore:

P. LIII: The substitution of one (vowel for the final of the first and the initial of the second member of a compound) does, even when it is *antaranga*, not (take place) previously to an operation which concerns[4] the first or the second member (of the compound).

The very prohibition P. VII., 3, 22 indicates, as appears from

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1. P. तदुक्तं *i. e.* तदेतत्सर्वमभिप्रेत्योक्तं भाष्ये, *viz.* on P. VI., 1. 85 and I., 4, 2.

2. Now one might say that in the case of such Dvandva-compounds as मरुदिन्द्र in which the इ of इन्द्र does not disappear by the substitution of another vowel for itself and a final vowel preceding it, P. VII., 3, 22 *does* serve a purpose. Nâgojibhaṭṭa says therefore: 'When इन्द्र...'

3. P. II., 2, 33.

4. °निमित्तेन बहुव्रीहिः। निमित्तत्वं च यथाकथंचित्। P.

the Bhâshya on the rules P. VI., 1, 85 and I., 4, 2, (the existence of) this (Paribhâshâ).[1]

cal. See Bhâshya on P. I., 4, 2:
(a)तस्य दोषः पूर्वोत्तरपदयोर्वृद्धिस्वरावेकादेशात् । तस्यैतस्य लक्षणस्य दोषः पूर्वोत्तरपदयोर्वृद्धिस्वरावेकादेशादन्तरङ्गनोऽभिनिर्वृत्तान्न प्राप्नुतः । पूर्वेपुकामशमः । गुडोदकं निलीदकम् । उदकेऽकेवले [६.२.९६] इति पूर्वोत्तरपदयोर्य्यवर्गीभावात्स्वरो न स्यात् । नैष दोषः । आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति पूर्वोत्तरपदयोस्तावत्कार्यं भवति नैकादेश इति यदयमित्यादि ॥

PARIBHÂSHÂ LIV.

Now one might say that even thus[1] ल्यप् ought in (the formation of) the Gerund of प्र-धा, प्र-स्था etc. (from प्र+धा-क्त्वा, प्र+स्था-क्त्वा, etc.) to be (substituted for क्त्वा) after the substitution (by P. VII.) 4, 42 etc.) of हि etc. (for धा etc.), because (these latter substitutions are *antaranga*.[2] (The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore:

P. LIV: A *bahiranga* (substitution of) ल्यप् supersedes even[3] *antaranga* rules.[4]

1. *I. e.* even when the application of Par. L. has been restricted by Paribhâshâs LI., LII., and LIII.

2. In the formation of the Gerund of प्र-धा from प्र+धा-क्त्वा two rules are applicable, P. VII., 4, 42 which teaches the substitution of हि for धा before क्त्वा, and P. VII., 1, 37 which teaches the substitution of ल्यप *i. e.* य for क्त्वा *i. e.* त्वा; as the former rule is *antaranga* and the latter *bahiranga*, the former would by Par. L. take effect first, and when हि would have been substituted by it for धा, ल्यप् would be substituted for क्त्वा; the result would be प्र हि-य, and not प्रहाय.

P. अन्तरङ्गत्वात् । अनेकपदाश्रयसमासनिमित्तकल्यबपेक्षयैकपदीयप्रकृतिप्रत्ययापेक्षत्वेन षट्कत्वेन तस्यात् ॥

3. *I. e.* in addition to its superseding *para* and *nitya* rules.

4. In the case of प्र+धा-क्त्वा ल्यप् is therefore first substituted for क्त्वा,

The employment of ल्यप् in the rule P. II., 4, 36 indicates (the existence of) this (Paribhâshâ), because, (in case this Paribhâshâ did not exist, the substitution of जग्ध् for अद् before ल्यप् which is taught in P. II., 4, 36) would follow already from the word कित्ति 'before that which is distinguished by an indicatory क्' (in the same rule; *i. e.* जग्ध् would by Par. I. first be substituted for अद् before क्त्वा, and ल्यप् afterwards for क्त्वा).[1] This appears from the Bhâshya[2] on P. II., 4, 36.

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and subsequently P. VII., 4, 42 is no longer applicable; we obtain thus प्रधाय.

1. As soon as the present Paribhâshâ is adopted, ल्यप् in P. II., 4, 36 becomes necessary, for, when ल्यप् has been substituted for क्त्वा *e. g.* in प्र+अद्-क्त्वा, जग्ध् cannot be substituted for अद् if P. II., 4, 36 does not contain the word ल्यप्.

2. P. ननु स्थानिवत्सत्वेऽपि स्थानिवत्त्वाभावज्ञापकमिदमुक्तं भाष्ये इति योगयोर्विरोध इति चेन्न । यावता विना यदनुपपन्नं तस्य सर्वस्य ज्ञाप्यत्वं न त्वेकेनैकमिच्छियम इति कैयटेनोक्तत्वात् ॥

Bhâshya[1] on P. II., 4, 36 :

ल्यब्ग्रहणं किमर्थम् । न ति कितीत्येव सिद्धम् । ल्यपि कृते न प्राप्नोति । इदमिह संप्रधार्यं ल्यप् क्रियतामादेश इति किमत्र कर्तव्यम् । परत्वाल्ल्यप् । अन्तरङ्गः आदेशः । एवं तर्हि सिद्धे सति यल्लुग्ब्ग्रहणं करोति तज्ज्ञापयत्याचार्योऽन्तरङ्गानपि विधीन्बहिरङ्गो ल्यब्बाधत इति । किमेतस्य ज्ञापने प्रयोजनम् । ल्यबादेश उपदेशिवद्वचनमनादिष्टार्थं बहिरङ्गलक्षणत्वादिति वक्ष्यति । तन्न वक्तव्यं भवति ।

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1. Kaiyata: अन्तरङ्ग आदेश इति । तकारादिप्रत्ययमालापेक्षत्वात् । ल्यबादेशस्तु पूर्वपदापेक्षसमासाश्रयत्वाद्बहिरङ्गः ॥ अनादिष्टार्थमिति । प्रधाय प्रस्थायेत्यादौ हिंसादिष्वकृतेष्वेव ल्यब्यथा स्यादित्यर्थः । कथं न प्राप्नोतीत्याह । बहिरङ्गलक्षणत्वादिति ॥ अयमेवार्थो

जग्धिविधिर्ल्यपि यत्तदकस्मात्
सिद्धमदस्ति कितीति विधानात् ।
द्विप्रभृतींस्तु सदा बहिरङ्गो
ल्यब्भरतीति कृतं तदु विद्धि ॥

एष एवार्थः ।

जग्धौ सिद्धेऽन्तरङ्गत्वात्ति कितीति ल्यबुच्यते ।
ज्ञापयत्यन्तरङ्गाणां ल्यपा भवति बाधनमिति ॥

ल्याग्रभूतिनाप्युक्त इत्याह । जग्धिविधिरिति ॥ अकस्मादिति । निष्प्रयोजनमित्यर्थः ॥ सिद्धमद इति । जग्धिविधानं सिद्धमित्यर्थः । ज्ञापनार्थं ल्यपि जग्धिविधानमित्याह । द्विप्रभृतीनिति ॥ ल्यब्भरतीति । ल्यबादेशो हरत्यपनयति बाधन इत्यर्थः ॥ तदु इति । उच्चब्दौ निपातौ अवधारणार्थौ । तद्विद्धीत्यर्थः ॥

PARIBHÂSHÂ LV.

Now one might say that even thus in (the formation of) the Redupl. Perf. of इ etc. (from इ+अ etc.), when (the root इ etc.) has been reduplicated (*i. e.* in इ+इ+अ etc.), the substitution (by P. VI., 1, 101) of the homogeneous long vowel (ई for इ+इ) ought, because it is *antaranga*,[1] (by Par. L.)to take place (before the substitution of Vṛiddhi taught in P. VII., 2, 115), and that in that

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1. इ+इ+अ; substitution of ई for इ+इ by P. VI , 1, 101, *antaranga*; substitution of Vṛiddhi for the radical इ before अ, by P. VII., 2, 115, *bahiranga*. By P. I., 1, 59 the reduplication takes place *before* the substitution of Vṛiddhi; or, if Vṛiddhi is substituted first, it must so far as regards the reduplication be considered as uniform with the original इ.

case the (forms इयाय etc.) would not result (from Pâṇini's rules.[1] The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore :

P. LV: (An operation) which is taught in the Angâdhikâra (P. VI., 4,—VII., 4, and affects the *anga* or base,) possesses greater force than (an operation) which concerns (a combination of) letters, (or in other words, is taught in a Sandhi-rule.)[2]

Hereby the (substitution of) Vṛiddhi (for the radical इ) supersedes and (takes place in preference to the substitution of) the homogeneous long vowel (ई for इ+इ), notwithstanding that the latter is *antaranga;* and consequently the (forms इयाय etc.) do result (from Pâṇini's rules). The word असवर्णे 'not when an homogeneous vowel follows' in the rule P. VI., 4, 78, which teaches (the substitution of) इयङ् (etc. for the vowel इ etc. of a reduplicative syllable), indicates (the existence of) this (Paribhâshâ). For that (word has been employed in P. VI., 4, 78) in order to prevent (the substitution of) इयङ् etc. in such forms as ईयतुः (from इ+इयतुः); but if the present Paribhâshâ did not exist, the (word असवर्णे) would be superfluous, because (in that case the substitution of इयङ् etc. for the reduplicative इ etc. would in the case of इ+इयतुः etc.) be superseded (already) by the *antaranga* (substitution of the) homogeneous long vowel (ई for इ+इ etc., the substitution of) इयङ् and उवङ् being *bahiranga* because it de-

1. We should form इ+इ+अ=ई+अ, and afterwards by P. VII., 2, 115 ऐ+अ=आय.

2. Accordingly इ+इ+अ becomes इ+ऐ+अ *i. e.* इ+आय by P. VII., 2, 115, and this इयाय by P.VI., 4, 78.

pends on the condition that (the vowels इ and उ for which they are substituted) stand in the reduplicative syllable. Nor is (the rule P. VI., 4, 78 which teaches the substitution of) इयङ् etc., an *Apavâda*[1] (of the rule P. VI., 1, 101 which teaches the substitution of a homogeneous long vowel, and on that account stronger than the latter), for it is clear from Par. LVII. that (P. VI, 4, 78) can only be regarded as an *Apavâda* of (the rule P. VI., 1, 77 which teaches the substitution of) यण् (*i. e.* a semivowel), because (only) the latter rule would be applicable in the case of इयर्ति and of all other forms (that fall under P. VI., 4, 78). Such is the opinion of the ancient (grammarians).[2]

Others however (and their view is correct) say that if this Paribhâshâ did not exist, the whole rule P. VI., 4, 78 would be superfluous. It would serve no purpose in (the formation of) इयेष, इयाय etc., for (here) the Guṇa (ए) which previously has taken the place (of the इ of इष्+अ), and the Vṛiddhi (ऐ) which previously has taken the place (of the इ of इ+अ), disappear (in the first instance again when the roots have to be reduplicated), because by P. I., 1, 59 (एष्+अ and ऐ+अ, so long as the reduplication has still to take place,) are regarded as uniform with (इष्+अ and इ+अ); and when then (subsequently) the reduplication has taken place, (*i. e.* when इष्+अ and इ+अ have become इ+इष्+अ and इ+इ+अ), and there is again occasion for (the substitution of) Guṇa and Vṛiddhi, the (substitution of the) homogeneous long vowel (ई for इ+इ) would, because it is *antaranga*, take place in pre-

1. If P. VI., 4, 78 were an *Apavâda* of P. VI., 1, 101, इयङ् would have to be substituted in इ-इषतुः in preference to ई, in case P. VI., 4, 78 did not contain the word असवर्णे. But as P. VI., 1, 101 is not applicable in *all* instances that fall under P. VI., 4, 78, the latter rule cannot be regarded as an *Apavâda* of the former.

2. P. *i. e.* of Siradeva and others.

ference to (the substitution of Guṇa and Vṛiddhi, and Guṇa and Vṛiddhi not having been substituted for the radical vowel, P. VI., 4, 78 would) also in these (forms not be applicable).

Nor is the (rule P. VI., 4, 78) necessary for (the formation of) इयर्ति, (इयृतः), etc; if (the substitution of इयङ् in इयर्ति etc.,) were the sole object of (P. VI., 4, 78, Pâṇini, instead of saying अभ्यासस्यासवर्णे) would merely have said 'उः.' Here यवोः *i. e.* 'for इ and उ' would be valid (from VI., 4, 77; and ऋ) would, both because it would stand near P. VI., 4, 81 (where इण् denotes the *root* इ),[2] and because it would be explained thus, denote only the *root* ऋ; the meaning (of उः would therefore be): 'इयङ् (is substituted) for the letter इ of the root ऋ.' (To form the rule) अभ्यासस्यार्तौ 'for the réduplicative syllable before the root ऋ,' or अभ्यासस्यार्तेः 'for the red. syllable of the root ऋ,' would on account of the cumbrousness (of those expressions) be improper.[3] Nor can one say that the rule (P. VI., 4, 78) is necessary for the sake (of the substitution) of इयङ् etc. in the Perfect of (nominal verbs) derived by means of the affix क्विप्, in the sense of 'to behave like,' from the words ए, ऐ, ओ, औ; and also for the sake (of the substitution of उवङ् etc.) in forms like उवोगकीर्षियति, the Desiderative of a nominal verb derived by means of the affix क्यच्, in the sense of 'to wish for,' from (ओगक, a noun) formed by the affix ण्वुल् from the root ओग्. For on the authority of the Bhâshya on the last (rule) of the first Âhnika of the sixth Adhyâya[4]

1. *I. e.* We should form *e. g.* इय्+अ, = एय्+अ, = इय्+अ, =इ+इय्+अ, =ईय् ; इ+अ,= ऐ+अ, = इ+अ, = इ+ई+अ, = ई+अ, = ऐ+अ =आय. See below.

2. See Par. CIII.

3. See Par. CXXII.

4. *Scil.* which Bhâshya makes the rule P. VI., 4, 78 indicate the existence of this Paribhâshâ. If there existed nominal verbs derived from

(nominal verbs derived by means of क्विप् from ए, ऐ, etc.) are not in use; and as regards the last (instance उपोगकीयिषति) which was mentioned, its very formation is impossible because (in the Desid. of ओगकीय) the *second* (and not the first) syllable is reduplicated.[1] It follows then that it is correct to say that the whole rule (P. VI., 4, 78) indicates (the present Paribhâshâ).

Although the words in the Bhâshya (on P. VI., 1, 12) 'by the fact that (Pâṇini) employs the word असवर्णे in VI, 4, 78' convey the meaning that only the word असवर्णे indicates (the existence of this Paribhâshâ), nevertheless the words 'for the reduplicative syllable is never followed by any other heterogeneous vowel than a Guṇa or Vṛiddhi (vowel)', which make it clear how (the existence of the Paribhâshâ is indicated), show that the *whole* rule (VI., 4, 78) indicates (the Paribhâshâ). In the sequel also, *viz.* by the remark 'this does not indicate (the Paribhâshâ), it may be (given) for the sake of the root ऋ', the attempt is made to show that the rule (VI., 4, 78) serves a purpose (even when the Paribhâshâ does not exist), whereas, if only the word असवर्णे did indicate (the Paribhâshâ), it would have been attempted to show that the word असवर्णे would serve a purpose (even if the Paribhâshâ did not exist), *viz.* by adducing an instance which would be debarred (from the substitution of इयङ् etc. taught in P. VI., 4, 78) by the (word असवर्णे).

Nor is it correct to say that it can easily be proved that Par. LVI. is applicable[2] in (the formation of) इयेष etc., *viz.* by the

ए, ऐ etc. to which P. VI., 4, 78 were applicable, the latter rule would serve a purpose even if it did not indicate the present Paribhâshâ, and the Bhâshyà on P. VI., 1, 12 would be incorrect.

1. See Si. Kau. II., p. 239. यथेष्टं नामधातुषु । आद्यानां त्रयाणामन्यतमस्य द्वित्वमित्यर्थः । अजादेस्त्वाद्येनरस्य ॥

2. If Par. LVI. were applicable, the *bahiranga* substitution of Guna

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possibility of the reasoning that 'if the long (vowel ई) were not (substituted for इ+इ of इ+इण्+अ), Guṇa would be (substituted for the radical इ[1])',—that by that Par. LVI. the (substitution of a) long vowel (for इ+इ) is inadmissible (in those forms), and that it is therefore (difficult to see) how the whole rule (VI., 4, 78) can indicate (the present Paribhâshâ). For Par. LVI. is not (adopted); or, should it be (adopted), it is by the authority of the Bhâshya (on P. VI., 1, 12) which was quoted above[2] allowed to apply only where the *bahiranga* rule which destroys the causes of (an *antaranga* operation) applies subsequently to the time at which that *antaranga* operation should take place, (whereas in the present instance the *antaranga* and *bahiranga* operations apply simultaneously).

Nor is it correct to say that, even (if the present Paribhâshâ did not exist and) if in (the formation of) the 3. Sing. Par. of the Red. Perf. of इ etc. the long (vowel ई), because (its substitution is) *antaranga*, (were substituted for इ+इ), the rule (P. VI., 4, 78) would (still) serve a purpose, *viz.*, this, to teach (the substitution of) इयङ् (for the ई of ई+अ etc. Such a case as that of ई+अ would fall under P. VI., 4, 78) because (the substitute ई for इ+इ), being regarded as the final of what precedes,[3] would be the reduplicative syllable, and because it besides is

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or Vriddhi in इ+इण्+अ, इ+इ+अ etc. would by it supersede the *antaranga* substitution of ई for इ+इ, *i. e.*, we should first have to form इ+एण्+अ, इ+ऐ+अ; and as P. VI., 4, 78 would here be applicable, it could not indicate the existence of the present Paribhâshâ.

1. *Scil.* and by that substitution of Guṇa the cause of the substitution of ई would disappear. See below.

2. *Scil.* and which makes the rule P. VI., 4, 78 indicate the existence of the present Paribhâshâ.

3. By P. VI., 1, 85.

an *i*, and is followed by an heterogeneous vowel *viz.* (the अ of the termination) णल्. (And one might say that the result which would here be attained by P. VI., 4, 78) would not have been attained (already) by P. VI., 4, 77, because (P. VI., 4, 78) would be meant to supersede the (substitution by P. VII., 2, 115 of) Vṛiddhi (for ई, which, had P. VI., 4. 78 not been given, would have superseded the substitution by P. VI., 4, 77 of इयङ् for ई.—This objection is futile) because by (the maxim of) association the word असवर्ण (in P. VI., 4, 78) only denotes an heterogeneous vowel which belongs to that portion (of a verbal form) which follows upon the reduplicative syllable (*i. e.* a radical vowel),[1] and because it is decidedly more proper that (the rule P. VI., 4, 78) should indicate the existence of a Paribhâshâ than that it should be considered (to have been given merely) for the sake of preventing (the application of)the rule (P. VII., 2, 115 in one or two instances).

And this (Paribhâshâ, the existence of which has thus been established, applies), as is proved by (the rule P. VI., 4, 78) which informs us of the (existence of such a maxim as is contained in the present) Paribhâshâ,[2] only when that which undergoes the operation taught in the Angâdhikâra would likewise have to undergo the operation which is taught in the Sandhi-rule.[3] But it is false to say that this (Paribhâshâ applies) only when (both operations) are dependent on, or in other words, have the same causes; for (if such were really

1. अभ्यासोत्तर°, यन्निरूपितपूर्वत्वमादायाभ्यासत्वं तदवच्छिन्नोत्तर°. P.

2. भर्मि°, भर्मी परिभाषा तद्ग्राहकं मानमुक्तसूत्रम्. P.

3. Viz. because such is the case in इयेष, इयाय etc., where the homogeneous long vowel should by P. VI., 1, 101 be substituted for the same radical इ (and the preceding इ) for which Guna or Vṛiddhi have to be substituted.

the case) forms like इयाय and इयेष would not result (from Pâṇini's rules)[1] even if (the existence of the Paribhâshâ) were indicated (by P. VI., 4, 78), and besides (this view) would involve the uselessness of the rule (P. VI., 4, 78). In स्योन however (from सि-ऊ-न) the semivowel य् has, because (its substitution is) *antaranga, been* substituted for इ,[2] because (there the present Paribhâshâ) is not applied, it being, as will be shown (presently), not universally valid.

One cannot object that even if (by the present Paribhâshâ Vṛiddhi etc. *were* substituted for the radical vowel) in (the formation of) the 3 Sing. of the Perf. of इ etc. (from इ+इ+अ, *i. e.* even if इ+ऐ+अ were first substituted for इ+इ+अ), it would still be impossible to substitute इयङ् (for the इ of the redupl. syllable), because Vṛiddhi etc. would have to be considered as equivalent to the original (इ etc.) so for as regards the substitution of इयङ्, and because (the substitution of इयङ्) would therefore be forbidden by the word असवर्णे 'not when an homogeneous vowel follows' (in P. VI., 4, 78. This objection is futile) because for the very reason that the rule (P. VI., 4, 78) has been given (Vṛiddhi etc.) cannot be regarded as equivalent to the original (इ etc.).[3] And this (fact that the rule P. VI., 4, 78 has been given)

1. The Paribhâshâ would not be applicable in the formation of इयाय, इयेष etc., because the substitution of the homogeneous long vowel and that of Guṇa or Vṛiddhi have different causes, the one being caused by the radical इ, the other by the termination अ. We should then first have to substitute the homogeneous long vowel and after that substitution P. VI., 4, 78 would not be applicable, or in other words, would be useless.

2. *Scil.* in preference to Guṇa notwithstanding that the substitution of the latter is taught in the Aṅgâdhikâra. See above pag. 222.

3. *I. e.* If ऐ etc. were regarded as equivalent to the original इ etc., the rule P. VI., 4, 78 would not be applicable anywhere and would thus be superfluous.

teaches[1] us the general (truth) that, whenever there is occasion for an operation which concerns a reduplicative syllable, a substitute which forms part of that portion which follows immediately upon the (reduplicative syllable) is not regarded as equivalent to that for which it has been substituted, when (its being regarded as equivalent to it) would prevent the taking place of the operation (which concerns the reduplicative syllable). This shows that it is wrong to say that 'in (the formation of) आरतिः[2] etc. (from अर्+ऋ+अति, अर्+र्+अति, अ+र्+अतिः[3]) a long vowel ought not by P. VI., 3, 111 to have been substituted (for the अ) of the reduplicative syllable, because the substitute र् (for ऋ) is equivalent to ऋ'; moreover (it is wrong to say so) because (the substitute र् for ऋ) is (by P. I., 1, 58) forbidden to be regarded as equivalent (to ऋ) in regard to a rule (like P. VI., 3, 111) which teaches (the substitution of) a long vowel. In the case of अरिप्रियान्[4] (from अरि+ऋ+यात्, अरि+रि+यान्[5]), on the other hand, (the substitute रि for ऋ) is regarded as equivalent (to ऋ) and इयङ् is therefore (substituted for इ), because (in this case) the fact that (रि) is regarded as equivalent (to ऋ) does not prevent the operation which concerns the reduplicative syllable.

This (Paribhâshâ) concerns, as appears from the Bhâshya on P. VIII., 2, 6, only such an operation of the Angâdhikâra as takes place in the *Anga* or base; for in that (passage of the Bhâshya) it has been stated[6] that in (the formation of) कुमार्यै etc. (from कुमारी+ए

1. सामान्यविधिं *scil.* ज्ञापकम्, P.

2. 3. Plur. Pres. of the Frequ. Par. of ऋ. See Siddh. Kau. II., p. 216.

3. P. VIII., 3, 14.

4. 3. Sing. Bened. of the Frequ. Par. of ऋ.

5. P. VII., 4, 28.

6. The author of the Bhâshya on P. VIII., 2, 6 does not state that in the case of कुमारी+ए य is substituted for इ before आ is prefixed to र्.

etc. the augment) आट् (the addition of which is taught in P. VII., 3, 112, is prefixed to the termination ए) *after* (the substitution of) the semi-vowel य् (for ई).

That this (Paribhâshâ) is not universally valid, follows from the circumstance that ङ् in P. VI., 4, 19 has been put down with the augment नुक् (*i. e.* that Pâṇini has said न्ङ् instead of ङ्); if the Paribhâshâ were universally valid, this would clearly serve no purpose[1], because the substitution of ञ् (for ङ्) being taught in the Angâdhikâra (VI., 4, 19) would (by this Paribhâ-

but the fact that he considers whether in the case of कुमार्य्+ए ए should first receive the accent that would follow from P. VI., 1, 174 or whether आ should first be prefixed to ए, proves that in his opinion य् is substituted for ई before आ is prefixed to ए. And if then य् is substituted for ई before the addition of आट् to ए, notwithstanding that the latter operation is taught in the Angâdhikâra, this shows that the present Paribhâshâ is not applicable in this case, *viz.* because the addition of आट् to ए, although it is taught in the Angâdhikâra, does not take place in the *Anga* कुमारी but affects the termination ए. (P. यणुत्तरमाङुक्: *i. e.* तदुत्तरमुदात्तयण इत्युदात्तेन सह संप्रधारणं कृत्वा परत्वादाङुक् इत्यर्थः). See note 1 on pag. 219.

1. If the Paribhâshâ were universally applicable, Pâṇini would have taught in VI., 4, 19 the substitution of ञ् for ङ्, not for न्ङ्; for in that case we should have reasoned thus: In the formation of प्रष्ठ from प्रष्ठ्+न two rules are applicable, P. VI., 1, 73 which teaches the addition of त् to the radical अ before ष्ठ्, and P. VI., 4, 19 which teaches the substitution of ञ् for ङ् before न; although the former rule is *antaranga* and the latter *bahiranga*, the latter has to take effect first because it is taught in the Angâdhikâra, whereas the former is a Sandhi-rule; accordingly ञ् is substituted for ङ् and subsequently P. VI., 1, 73 is no longer applicable. But as the present Paribhâshâ is not applied here, the *antaranga* addition of त् takes place first (*i. e.* प्रष्ठ्+न=प्रष्ठ्+न=प्रष्ट्+न) and Pâṇini is therefore obliged to teach in VI., 4, 19 the substitution of ञ् for न्ङ्, and not for ङ्.

shâ) have taken place before (the addition of) तुक्, and (after the substitution of ऋ) there would consequently have been no occasion for the addition of तुक्. More elsewhere.[1]

1. अन्यत्र *i. e.* शेखरादौ. P.

PARIBHÂSHÂ LVI.

Now one might say that (if) then (Par. L. were valid in all but the particular cases mentioned above, the augment) इट् ought in (the formation of) सेदुषः etc. (from सेद्-वस्+अस् etc. in accordance with that Paribhâshâ) to be prefixed to वस् because it is *antaranga*, and that (having been prefixed to वस्) इट् would also subsequently, after the substitution of Samprasâraṇa (for व्), remain audible.[1] Under these circumstances some say[2] that

P. LVI: The followers of Pâṇini do not insist (on the taking effect of a rule, when its cause or causes disappear).

(अकृतव्यूह is an attributive compound agreeing with पाणिनीयाः and) means 'one who does not insist on' *scil.* the taking effect of a rule; the words 'when its causes subsequently disappear' have to be supplied. In other words, 'an *antaranga* (operation) does not take place when subsequently, (in case the *bahiranga* operation were to take place), the cause or causes of the *antaranga* (opera-

1. *I. e.* In सेद्-वस् इ ought to be prefixed to वस् by P. VII., 2, 35, and this इ ought to remain when subsequently, after the addition of the case-termination अस्, उ is substituted for व् by P. VI., 4, 131; the result would be सेदुषः.

2. केचित्, connect with आहुः on pag. 62, l. 14 of the text.

tion) would disappear by (the taking effect of) that *bahiranga* (operation)'.[1] The (word) समर्थानाम् 'of the (words) significant' in the rule P. IV., I. 82 indicates (the existence of) this (Paribhâshâ); for that (word) is meant to show that the affixes (इञ् etc.) are added to सूत्यित etc. *after* the long (vowel ऊ) has been substituted (for the उ+उ of सु+उत्यित etc.). If the present Paribhâshâ did not exist, समर्थानाम् would clearly be superfluous, for (in that case) an occasion for (the addition of) an affix would arise only when the substitution of the long (vowel for उ+उ), on account of its being *antaranga*, would actually have taken place.[2] (But as the present Paribhâshâ does exist, the word समर्थानाम् is necessary; for the Paribhâshâ prevents the *antaranga* substitution of ऊ), because the (sequence of two) homogeneous vowels (in सु+उत्यित which causes the *antaranga* substitution of ऊ) clearly disappears here by the (substitution of) Vṛiddhi for the first vowel which has to take place subsequently (when the Taddhita-affix has been added). Nor can one object that in this case the cause of the (substitution of ऊ, *viz.* उ+उ,) does not disappear (by the substitution of Vṛiddhi), because, although the substitute (ऊ), after it has taken the place (of उ+उ and after the Taddhita-affix has been added), is liable to undergo the (substitution of) Vṛiddhi, there is no occasion for Vṛiddhi at the time when (ऊ) is being substituted (for उ+उ, *viz.* because at that time the affix is not added as yet. This objection

1. Accordingly, in the formation of सेदुषः from सेद्-वस्+भस्, इ is not prefixed to वस्, because the initial व् of वस् by which the addition of इ would be caused, disappears by the substitution of उ for व् caused (indirectly) by the following भस्.

2. *I. e.* We should form सु+उत्यित=सूत्यित, and afterwards सूत्यित+इञ्=सौत्यिति.

namely) does not invalidate (what we have said above), because by the very fact (that the substitute ऊ disappears in consequence of the substitution of Vṛiddhi) indirectly the causes of the (substitute ऊ likewise) do disappear. Nor can one object that the causes of the (substitution of ऊ) do not disappear (by the substitution of Vṛiddhi) because (the substitution of) Vṛiddhi in सौत्यिति is *bahiranga* and therefore (by Par. L.) *asiddha*; for the employment of समर्थानाम् (in P. IV., 1, 82) indicates besides that Par. L. is not applicable wherever the present (Paribhâshâ may be applicable.)[1]

To maintain however that the word समर्थानाम् (in P. IV., 1, 82) indicates only that Par. L. is not universally valid, is wrong. For we learn from Par. L. that a *bahiranga* (operation) which applies simultaneously (with an *antaranga* operation), and a *bahiranga* (operation) which has previously taken effect, is regarded as *asiddha* when the *antaranga* (operation) is to take effect, but we do not learn from it that a *bahiranga* operation (which applies) *after* the *antaranga* (operation) has taken effect is (likewise) regarded so, because there is nothing to prove (that Par. L. conveys this meaning), and because (even did it convey that meaning) no result would accrue from it;[2] and this being so, the substitution of the one (vowel ऊ for उ+उ) in सूत्यिन etc. does (really) not result from Par. L., and it is therefore impossible that (समर्थानाम् in P. IV., 1, 82) should indicate that that (Paribhâshâ) is not universally valid.

Par. LII. etc. are contained already[3] in this (present Pari-

1. *Viz.* because, if Vṛiddhi were *asiddha* by Par. L., the word समर्थानाम् in P. IV., 1, 82 would be superfluous.

2. फलाभावात्, अनन्यथासिद्धत्वस्यासिद्धिरूपप्रसिद्धफलाभावात्. P.

3. See below.

bhâshâ. To show this more clearly it must be stated that) moreover (this Paribhâshâ is not only applicable when the cause or causes of an *antaranga* operation actually do disappear by the *bahiranga* operation, but that) the mere consideration that the causes (of the *antaranga* operation) would disappear (if the *bahiranga* operation were to take effect) likewise causes this (Paribhâshâ) to apply. It is for this reason that in (the formation of) गोमद्दण्डी etc. (from गोमत्-सु+दण्डी etc. the termination सु of गोमत्-सु) does not disappear by (the substitution of) Lopa (which is taught in P. VI., 1, 68, but by the substitution of लुक् taught in P. II., 4, 71).[1] On the other hand, (if the above statement were incorrect, the present Paribhâshâ would not apply here) because at the time when Lopa would have to be substituted (for सु, *i. e.* in गोमत्-सु,) there would be no occasion for the substitution of लुक् which takes place when (गोमत् and दण्डिन्) are compounded; nor would there be any occasion (for the substitution of लुक्) subsequently to that (substitution of Lopa), because (at that time the termination सु), to remove which would be the object (of the substitution of लुक्), would no longer be present; it would thus come to pass that Lopa (and not लुक्) would be substituted (for सु, and this would give rise to the formation of a wrong form. But if what we stated above is accepted, then the present Paribhâshâ must apply in the formation of गोमद्दण्डी etc. because) in this case also we do consider that if Lopa were not (substituted for सु), लुक् would be (substituted for it; and if the Paribhâshâ is applied, then लुक् must by it, in preference to Lopa, be substituted for सु, and the form गोमद्दण्डी will be formed correctly).—When (Pâṇini) however in the rule VI., 4, 134 places a त् (after अ्, *i. e.* when he teaches that Lopa is substi-

1. See Par. LII.

tuted only for short अ), his doing so serves a purpose because it indicates that the (present) Paribhâshâ is not universally valid; for that (त् has been placed after अ) in order to prevent the (substitution of) Lopa (for आ) in such forms as आनः etc., (an Acc. Plur. of आन् derived by means of the affix क्विप् from the root अन्.) If the present Paribhâshâ were universally valid, then it ought to have been applied in the case of आनः etc., because we should consider here, that 'if the long vowel आ were not substituted (for the अ of अन् by P. VI., 4, 15), Lopa would be substituted (for अ),' and the long vowel (आ) would in accordance with this Paribhâshâ have never been substituted (for the अ of अन्);[1] consequently that (त् which is placed in P. VI., 4, 134 after the vowel अ) would clearly have been altogether superfluous.

Kaiyaṭa[2] however, on P. IV., 1, 82, when he remarks that the (existence of the) Paribhâshâ अकृतव्यूहाः पाणिनीयाः is indicated by the word समर्थानाम् and that thereby in the case of पपुषः etc. the augment इट्, although it had previously been prefixed (to वस्)

1. The substitution of long आ for the अ of अन् which is caused by the affix क्विप् (P. VI., 4, 15) would never have taken place, and a word like आन् would not have existed.

2. See Bhâshya on P. IV., 1, 82: अथैतत्समर्थग्रहणं नैव कर्तव्यम् । कर्तव्यं च । किं प्रयोजनम् । समर्थादुत्पत्तिर्यथा स्यादसमर्थान्मा भूत् । किं पुनः समर्थम् । अर्थाभिधाने यत्समर्थम् । किं पुनस्तत् । कृतवर्णानुपूर्वीकं पदम् । सौत्थितिः वैक्षमाणिरिति ॥

Kaiyaṭa: कृतवर्णानुपूर्वीकमिति । तस्यैव लोकेऽर्थप्रतिपादनाय प्रयोगात्समर्थत्वमिति भावः ॥ सौत्थितिरिति । विभक्त्यन्ताख्याने सु उत्थित इत्यस्मादपि प्रत्ययः स्यात् । ततश्च सावुत्थितिरित्यनिष्टप्रसङ्गो वार्णादाङ्बलीय इति वृद्धिप्रसङ्गात् । नन्वन्तरङ्गत्वाद्वर्णेषु कार्येषु कृतेषु प्रत्ययो भविष्यति । एवं तर्ह्यनेनैव समर्थवचनेन ज्ञाप्यते । अस्तीयं परिभाषाकृतव्यूहाः पाणिनीया इति । तेन पपुषस्तस्थुष इत्यादि सिद्धं भवति । अन्तरङ्गत्वात्पूर्वं कृतौ ऽऽगम एतत्परिभाषावशान्निवर्तते । तत्र पपा वस् अस् इति स्थिते इट् प्राप्नोति संप्रसारणं च । तत्र संप्रसारणं बलीयः प्रतिपदविधानादिति तत्र कृते बलादित्यभावादिण् नास्तीति सिद्धं पपुष इति ॥

because (its addition is) *antaranga*, again disappears, understands the meaning (of the word आकृतव्यूहाः to be this) that (the followers of Pâṇini) do not allow (the result of) an operation to remain when the cause that had effected it disappears. In other words (the import of the Paribhâshâ according to Kaiyaṭa is this that), when a cause disappears, that which was caused by it, disappears likewise. (The word) समर्थानाम् (is employed in P. IV., 1, 82) in order to prevent the formation of सावुत्थिनि, from सूत्थित+इञ्, where the long vowel (ऊ) would on the substitution of Vṛiddhi (for the first उ of सु+उत्थित) cease to exist (because its cause उ+उ would disappear by Vṛiddhi, if the word समर्थानाम् had not been employed in P. IV., 1, 82). The meaning (which according to) this (view is conveyed by the present Paribhâshâ) is also established by the practice of ordinary life; for we see that in ordinary life causes are two-fold; (a cause) either causes an effect to remain only so long as it remains itself, or it causes an effect to remain even after it has itself ceased to exist. (A cause) of the former kind is *e g.* the *Apekshâbuddhi* or comprehending intellect of the Nyâya-system,[1] for it is conceded that when it ceases, the duality (which was caused) by it, (likewise) ceases to exist; it is also well known that according to the Vedânta-doctrine the past deeds (which cause) the projective power (of ignorance called *Vikshepa*) make the latter continue only so long as they themselves continue.[2] (A cause) of the second description is *e. g.* the potter's wheel, for we see that

1. See Bhâshâparichchheda Ed. Roer, 107 etc. Translation pag. 60.

2. When the past deeds are consumed the projective power of ignorance which was caused by them ceases likewise. See Vedântasâra Ed. Ballantyne pag. 24 etc.—P. adds as another instance that a crystal appears red so long as a red object is placed near it, but ceases to appear red when the latter is removed.

even when it ceases to exist, the pot (which was made with it) does not cease to exist (together with it). In grammar the one or the other (view of the nature of a cause) is adopted according as (one or the other view) suits the forms (that have to be made up by the rules of grammar). But there is no maxim (of ordinary life) nor is there even any suitable example (to prove that an effect), because its cause is going to disappear at some future period, should previously (to the actual disappearance of that cause) not be produced. Moreover there is nothing to prove that the word समर्थानाम् (in P. IV., 1, 82) should indicate this latter meaning which is not established by (a maxim of) ordinary life and is altogether without precedent, when a sense may be assigned to it by making it indicate a maxim which is accepted by the world in general. This we have to understand to be the import of Kaiyaṭa's remark on P. IV., 1, 82.

Others however, (and they are right, maintain the following view). It appears from Kaiyaṭa on the rule P. IV., 1, 82, and from Kaiyaṭa[1] on P. VI., 4, 22, that when one attempts to account for the formation of सेदुषः etc. by placing the several parts of which those words are made up side by side,[2] (and by applying subsequently the various rules for which there may be

1. See Kaiyaṭa on P. VI., 4, 22: पपुष इति । ननु चान्तरङ्गत्वादिट्टा भाव्यम् । न च संप्रसारणे कृतेऽपीटो निवृत्तिर्निमित्तापाये नैमित्तिकस्याप्यपाय इत्यस्याः परिभाषाया भाष्यकारेणानाश्रयणात्तथा च चावित्यलोक्तमिहान्ये चौ प्रत्यङ्गस्य प्रतिषेधमारभन्ते तदिहापि साध्यमित्यकारस्य निवृत्तावपि यणादेशानिवर्तनाच्चैतदुक्तम् । तथा च च्छ्वोरित्यलोक्तमवश्यमत्र तुगभावार्थो यत्नः कर्तव्योऽन्तरङ्गत्वाद्धि तुकः प्राप्तिरिति कृतेऽपि शकारे कृतस्य तुकोऽनिवृत्तिं मत्वा चैतदुक्तम् । एवं तर्हि नित्यशब्ददर्शने प्रविभज्यावयवेषु कल्प्यमानेष्वन्तरङ्गबहिरङ्गभावो नास्तीति पपा वसस् इति स्थिते नित्यत्वादिटं बाधित्वा संप्रसारणं भवन्यत्विधित्वाच्च स्थानिवत्त्वाभावादिटोऽप्रसङ्गः । अथवा संप्रसारणं तदाश्रयं च बलीयो भवतीत्यत्र विषये पूर्वमिट् न प्रवर्तते ॥

2. पदावधिके ऽन्वाख्याने, *i. e.* पदघटकविभक्तिपर्यन्तेऽन्वाख्येयत्वेनादौ संस्थाप्ये-पद-

any occasion), and has in this manner placed (*e. g.*) सेद्+वस्+अस् side by side, in which case there is occasion for the taking place of (two operations, *viz.*) the (addition of the augment) इट् (to वस्) and (the substitution of) Samprasâraṇa (for the व् of वस्,—the substitution of) Samprasâraṇa (for the व् of वस्) is the first to take place because in the rule (VI., 4, 131) which teaches it (the affix वस्) is exhibited in this very form वस्;[1] and (afterwards, when Samprasâraṇa has thus been substituted for व्,) there is no occasion whatever for (the addition of the augment) इट् because (the affix) no longer begins with one of (the letters contained in the Pratyâhâra) वल्; (the augment इट् is) therefore (not added, and the forms सेदुषः etc. for the correct formation of which the Akṛitavyûha-paribhâshâ was said to be necessary) are formed (without that Paribhâshâ). Although[2] the circumstance that in a rule which teaches an operation (regarding a particular word etc.) this word etc. is actually exhibited in its individual form, makes (that rule) supersede (another rule) only[3]

स्य विभागपूर्वकं संस्थापनं कृत्वा; or the words पदावधिके—स्थिते may be explained: पदस्य विभक्त्यन्तव्याख्यानमिति पक्षे सेद् वस् अस् इति स्थिते. P.

1. See P. VI., 4, 131 वसोः संप्रसारणम्; on the other hand P. VII., 2, 35 teaches generally that इट् shall be prefixed to an Ârdhadhâtuka which begins with one of the letters contained in the Pratyâhâra वल्.

2. P. Nor can one say that although the substatitution of Samprasâraṇa would thus take place first, it would by the Antaranga-paribhâshâ be *asiddha*, and that the addition of इट् would therefore take place nevertheless. For the Antaranga-paribhâshâ is *anitya*, and besides it does not apply within the sphere of a Pratipadavidhi. Kaiyaṭa therefore is right when he says (on P. VII., 2, 98): परनिमित्तान्तरङ्गप्रतिपदविधयो विरोधिसंनिपाते तैषां मिथःप्रसङ्गे परबलीयस्त्वम्. The Pratipadavidhi is therefore like an Apavâda. To indicate this Nâgojibhaṭṭa says: 'Although'....

3. *Scil.* on the authority of the Bhâshya on P. V., 4, 154. See Par. LXIV.

when (without its doing so) there would be absolutely no occasion for its taking effect, yet (the same circumstance) at any rate causes that rule to take effect first even when there would be an occasion for the taking effect (of it in case it did not supersede the other rule). Such is the import of the above (remarks of Kaiyaṭa); and this has been considered in many places in the S'abdendus'ekhara.

The word समर्थानाम् in the rule P. IV., 1, 82 however merely expresses what we know already from the (Antaranga-) maxim,[1] (and it has been employed) in order to guard against the erroneous notion that, because *e. g.* in (the formation of) विष्णु (from विष्वक्+न) the affix (न) is evidently (added to विषु +भक्)[2] before (these two members) are joined by the rules of Sandhi, the same ought to be done wherever (a Taddhita-affix might have to be added). And this is suggested in the Bhâshya on P. I., 4, 2; for there वैक्षमाणि has been given as an instance for the Antaranga-paribhâshâ.[3] Moreover it appears from Kaiyaṭa on the very rule (P. IV., 1, 82) that when the formation (of सौत्थिनि etc.) is accounted for by dissolving (it into all its constituent parts and by applying afterwards the rules of grammar) and when thus (*e. g.*) सु+उत्थित+अस्+इ have been placed side by side, the word समर्थानाम् (in P. IV., 1, 82.) is necessary

1. न्याय° *i. e.* अन्तरङ्गन्याय°. P.

2. See Si. Kau. I. pag. 681 (on P. V., 2, 100) विष्वगित्युत्तरपदलोपेक्षाकृतसंधेः, *i. e.* न is added to विष्वक् while at the same time the second member (अक्) of the compound is dropped, but before विषु+भक् have been joined according to the rules of Sandhi.

3. वैक्षमाणि from वि-ईक्षमाण+इ; by P. IV., 1, 82 इ is added after वि-ईक्षमाण have been joined.—अन्तरङ्गपरिभाषा°, P. अन्तरङ्गबहिरङ्गयोरन्तरङ्गं बलीय इति परिभाषा°.—See Bhâshya on P. I., 4, 2: वृद्धिरेकादेशः । वैक्षमाणिः सौत्थिनिः । वृद्धिश्च प्राप्नोत्येकादेशश्च । परत्वाद्वृद्धिः स्यादेकादेशो भवत्यन्तरङ्गत्वात् ।

to prevent the (substitution of) Vṛiddhi (for the उ of सु) which according to Par. LV. ought to take place (in preference to the substitution of ऊ for the उ of सु and the उ of उश्चित).[1]

Because[2] then such is the case, the remark has been made in the Bhâshya on P. VI., 4, 22, that (Pâṇini) should have stated that the Samprasâraṇa, (substituted) for (the व् of the affix) वसु (by P. VI., 4, 131), ought to be considered as *having* taken effect in respect to a rule concerning a vowel, *viz.* in order that, when *e. g.* in (the formation of) पपुषः (from पपा+वस्+अस्) Samprasâraṇa has taken the place of (the व् of वस्), the आ (of पपा) might be elided (by P. VI., 4, 64). The import of this (remark is this) that the elision of the आ (of पपा) is caused by उस्, because, when the word (पपुषः) in order to explain its formation has been dissolved into its constituent parts (पपा+वस्+अस्), and when then in the manner suggested by Kaiyaṭa and mentioned above the (substitution of) Samprasâraṇa (has taken place) first, there is no occasion for (the addition of the augment) इट्. (If) on the other hand (Kaiyaṭa's view were not adopted, then

1. *I. e.* If P. IV., 1, 82 did not contain the word समर्थानाम् and if in the present instance Par. LV. did supersede the Antaranga-paribhâshâ, the substitution of Vṛiddhi for the उ of सु of सु-उश्चित+इ would by Par. LV. take place in preference to the substitution of ऊ for उ+उ, because the former is taught in the Angâdhikâra (P. VII., 2, 117) whereas the latter is taught in a Sandhi-rule.—P. And thus, if Par. LV. on account of its *anityatva* is not applied, समर्थानाम् in P. IV., 1, 82 teaches what is taught already by the Antaranga-paribhâshâ; and if Par. LV. is applied, समर्थानाम् prevents the substitution of Vṛiddhi which according to that Paribhâshâ would take place first; in neither case does it indicate the existence of the Akṛitavyûha-paribhâshâ.

2. *I. e.* Because what has been stated in the words परे नु-स्थानम् is the correct view of the whole matter, and because such a Paribhâshâ as अकृतव्यूहाः पाणिनीयाः is not adopted.

the augment) इट् would be added because (its addition) is *antaranga*; in that case (however) the elision of the आ (of पपा) would be caused by that (इट्), and the above (passage from the Bhâshya) would have no sense.[1]

It is for the same reason[2] that the author of the Vârttikas (on P. VI., 3, 138) has stated 'that a *pratyanga i. e. antaranga* (operation) is forbidden (to take effect) before चु (*i. e.* अचु)' and that this statement has not been refuted by the

1. If the Akṛitavyûha-paribhâshâ is adopted, इट् is, in the formation of पपुषः from पपा+वस्+अस्, not prefixed to वस्, because its cause, the initial व् of वस्, disappears by the substitution of Samprasâraṇa for व्; or, if इट् is prefixed to वस्, it disappears again as soon as Samprasâraṇa is substituted for व्. But the Akṛitavyûha-paribhâshâ is not adopted; in the case of पपा+वस्+अस् Samprasâraṇa is substituted for व्, as has been shown by Kaiyaṭa (see above pag. 314), प्रतिपदविधित्वात्, and subsequently there is no longer any occasion for the addition of इट्. Now Samprasâraṇa would by P. VI., 4, 22 be *asiddha* in regard to the elision of the आ of पपा taught in P. VI., 4, 64, and that elision would accordingly not take place, if we did not learn from the Bhâshya that the substitution of Samprasâraṇa must be regarded as *siddha* in regard to rules like P. VI., 4, 64. If we do not adopt Kaiyaṭa's view (प्रतिपदविधित्वात्पूर्वं संप्रसारणे), the Vârttika वसुसंप्रसारणमञ्विधौ सिद्धं वक्तव्यम् becomes useless; for in that case we have first to add the augment इट् because it is *antaranga*, and if then Samprasâraṇa is substituted *after* the elision of the आ of पपा, Samprasâraṇa, not being the cause of that elision, cannot be *asiddha* in regard to it; and if Samprasâraṇa is substituted *before* the elision of आ, then, even when Samprasâraṇa is *asiddha*, इट् being there, the elision of आ will be caused by इट्. If the Vârttika is to have any sense, we must adopt Kaiyaṭa's view, which is this that Samprasâraṇa is first substituted for व्, प्रतिपदविधित्वात्, and that afterwards there is no occasion for the addition of इट्.

2. See note 2 on pag. 316.

author of the Bhâshya. If, on the contrary, the (Akṛitavyûha-) paribhâshâ did exist, that (statement) would clearly serve no purpose.[1]

For the same reason has it been said in the Bhâshya on the rule P. VI., 4, 19, that[2] some effort[3] had necessarily to be made to account for the absence of (the augment) तुक् in such (forms as प्रष्टा etc., from प्रच्छ्), because तुक्, being *antaranga*, *has* to be added. On the other hand, did the present (Paribhâshâ really exist), then there would be no occasion for (the addition of) तुक्, and in that case it would clearly have no sense to say that some effort had necessarily

1. In the formation of प्रतीचः from प्रति-अच्+अस् two rules are applicable, P. VI., 1, 77 which teaches the substitution of य् for the इ of प्रति, and P. VI., 4, 138 which teaches the elision of the अ of अच्; the former of these two rules is *antaranga*, and the latter *bahiranga*. Now we are taught by the Vârttika on P. VI., 3, 138 that the *antaranga* substitution of य् for इ shall not take place before अच्; we accordingly form प्रति+च्+अस्, and subsequently by P. VI., 3, 138 प्रतीचः. If the Akṛitavyûha-paribhâshâ did really exist, it would prevent the substitution of य् for इ, because its cause अ disappears by P. VI., 4, 138, and the Vârttika on P. VI., 3, 138 would be superfluous. See Calcutta Ed. of Pâṇini on P. VI., 3, 138.

2. See note 1 on pag. 306. प्रष्टा from प्रच्छ्+ता; the addition of त् or च् before छ् is *antaranga*, the substitution of ष्ट् for छ् *bahiranga*. If the present Paribhâshâ did really exist, तुक्, though *antaranga*, would not be added because its cause छ् disappears by the substitution of ष्ट् for छ्. But as the present Paribhâshâ is not adopted, the *antaranga* addition of तुक् before छ् *must* take place, *i. e.* we have first to form प्रच्छ्+ता; and in order that ष्ट् may be substituted for च्छ्, Pâṇini has to make some effort in P. VI., 4, 19, *i. e.* he has to say there च्छ् (instead of छ्).

3. यत्नः, *viz.* सनुमिदंशास्त्रः. P.

to be made (to account for its absence). Nor can the meaning of the above (passage of the Bhâshya) be this that the (effort which is made to account for the absence of तुक्)[1] is merely intended to indicate that the present (Akṛitavyûha-paribhâshâ) is not universally valid; because, (if such were really the meaning of the above passage), the words अवश्यमत्र 'necessarily in such forms' would happen to be void of their proper force.

Moreover (if the Akṛitavyûha-paribhâshâ were really adopted, then the validity of मपर्यन्तस्य in) P. VII., 2, 98 and (the employment of ल्यप् in) P. II., 4, 36 would by the very (fact) of the existence of that Paribhâshâ serve a purpose, and the statement of (the author of) the Bhâshya, according to which (the validity of मपर्यन्तस्य in P. VII., 2, 98 and ल्यप् in P. II., 4, 36) indicate that (the substitutions of) लुक् and ल्यप् supersede *antaranga* (operations) would thereby be refuted.[2]

Moreover this (Paribhâshâ) is not found in the Bhâshya; this is stated by Kaiyaṭa on P. VI., 4, 22 in the words 'because the Paribhâshâ "when a cause disappears that which was caused by it disappears likewise" is not adopted by the author of the Bhâshya.' (Nor can one say that without this Paribhâshâ the final र् of हरिर् in हरिर्गच्छति etc. cannot be accounted for;)[3] on the alternative that a word is formed (without any regard to other

1. तद्, *i. e.* सनुग्निर्देशरूपयत्नाश्रयकत्वकथनम्. P.

2. See Par. LII. and LIV. If the Akṛitavyûha-paribhâshâ were adopted, it would prevent the taking effect of the *antaranga* operations in the formation of प्रज्ञस्य, स्वत्कृत etc. and in that case ल्यप् in P. II., 4, 36 and the validity of मपर्यन्तस्य in P. VII., 2, 98 would serve a purpose even if Par. LIV. and LII. did not exist.—See above pag. 309.

3. हरि+स्, by P. VIII., 2, 66 हरि+र्, by P. VIII., 3, 15 हरिः. One might say that the Paribhâshâ ought to be adopted in order that one might be able to account for the final र् of हरिर् in हरिर्गच्छति etc.,

words) हरिः गच्छति etc. is perfectly correct, because after the substitution of Visarga (for the final र्) in the case of हरिः etc. (this Visarga remains) when (हरिः) is subsequently joined with (words like) गच्छति etc; or (we may assume that) in cases like this[1] the alternative that a word is formed (without any regard to other words) is not adopted (and that Visarga therefore is not substituted at all.) This is the point of view (from which we have to look at the whole question.)

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where the final Visarjaniya, on the disappearance of the pause (अवसान) by which its substitution had been caused, has likewise disappeared again. This is refuted in the following.

1. तद्विषये, *i. e.* पदान्तरसंबद्धपदसंबन्धिविसर्गविषये. P.

PARIBHÂSHÂS LVII. AND LVIII.

An *Apavâda* possesses greater force even than an *antaranga* (rule).[1] The meaning of the word *Apavâda* herein (the author of the Paribhâshâs) expresses (in the following):

P. LVII: A rule which is given (in reference to a particular case or particular cases, to which, or to all of which,) another (rule) cannot but apply,

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1. That an *Apavâda* possesses greater force even than *para*, *nitya*, and *antaranga* rules, we know already from Par. XXXVIII; but we have still to learn why such is the case; and this we learn from the maxim येन नाप्राप्ते यो विधिरारभ्यते स तस्य बाधको भवति which teaches us the meaning of the term *Apavâda*. The words of the text अन्तरङ्गादपवादो बलीयान् are merely a repetition of a portion of Par. XXXVIII., and should not have been printed in the text as a separate Paribhâshâ; the new Paribhâshâ introduced by them is contained in the words येन

(or in other words, which all fall already under some other rule), supersedes the latter.[1]

(The affix) त in प्राप्ते denotes a state; the meaning of the words येन नाप्राप्ते is (therefore) 'while another (rule) is *necessari-*

नाप्राप्ते—भवति. (See Chitprabhâ: एतावत्पर्यन्तं नित्यादन्तरङ्गं बलीय इत्यंशप्रपञ्चो वर्णितः। इदानीमवशिष्टस्त्वन्तरङ्गादपवादो बलवानित्यंशः सोऽपि सप्रपञ्चं वर्णयितव्यः। तच्चापवादपदार्थज्ञानमन्तरा न संभवतीत्यतस्तज्ज्ञानाय प्रथमतोऽपवादपदार्थबोधकं वचनान्तरमवतारयिनुमुपक्रमते ऽन्तरङ्गादपीति ॥).

1. This Paribhâshâ teaches us the meaning of the term *Apavâda* and in doing so tells us the reason why an *Apavâda* possesses greater force than *antaranga* and other rules. An *Apavâda* is a *special* rule; it is given in reference to particular cases which all fall under some *general* rule (*Utsarga*); as it is not applicable in any case which does *not* fall under the general rule, it must necessarily supersede the latter, because it would otherwise not serve any purpose whatever. *E. g.* By P. VIII., 2, 31 ह् has to be substituted for the final ह् of roots; by P. VIII., 2, 32 ध् for the final ह् of roots that begin with द्; the latter rule is not applicable in any case that would not fall under the former rule, and it must accordingly supersede the former rule, because it would otherwise serve no purpose whatever. But one may object that no Paribhâshâ is necessary to teach us this, because the very fact that P. VIII., 2, 32 could not take effect anywhere, if P. VIII., 2, 31 were applied in the case of roots beginning with द्, proves sufficiently that P. VIII., 2, 32 must supersede P. VIII., 2, 31. This objection, it must be admitted, is well founded; there are however other cases where the special rule *might* take effect after the taking effect of the general rule and here we do want the present Paribhâshâ to teach us that even in these cases the general rule is not to take effect but is to be superseded by the special rule. *E. g.* P. VI., 1, 1 teaches that the first syllable of roots is reduplicated, P. VI., 1, 2, that of roots beginning with a vowel the second syllable is reduplicated; in this case P. VI., 1, 2 might well take effect after the taking effect of P. VI., 1, 1; nevertheless we are told by the present Paribhâshâ that even here P. VI., 1, 2 must supersede P. VI., 1, 1, solely because P. VI., 1, 2 is not applicable anywhere where P. VI., would not be applicable.

ly applying,' for the two negatives, (न, and अ in अप्राप्ति), impart more force to the word (प्राप्ति, than this word would possess without them). Accordingly[1] (the meaning is this that) a (general) rule is superseded by a special rule when that, in reference to which (the former rule) teaches something, is determined by general properties which inhere in something which is determined by (certain) special properties (in addition to those general properties, this latter something being that) in reference to which the special rule is given.[2] The reason namely why (a special rule) supersedes (a general rule) is this that it cannot take effect anywhere where the (general rule) would not apply. Moreover we learn from this maxim that (a special rule) supersedes a (general rule) even when there *would* be a possibility of its taking effect after the taking effect of the (general rule). If it were otherwise, the supersession (of the general rule) would result already from the circumstance that there would be no opportunity whatever for the taking effect of the (special rule if it did not supersede the general rule), and such being the case, it would be superfluous to give this (Paribhâshâ) at all, and it would have no sense to quote (in support of it) the maxim of Kaundinya and the buttermilk.[3]

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1. एवं च *i. e.* तथा शब्दार्थे च. P.

2. *E. g.* In the above instances P. VIII., 2, 31 is given with reference to 'roots that end with ह्,' P. VIII., 2, 32 with reference to 'roots that end with ह्, when they begin with द'; P. VI., 1, 1 is given with reference to 'roots,' P. VI., 1, 2 with reference to 'roots that begin with a vowel.'

3. When we give the order 'Let curds be given to the Brâhmans, buttermilk to (the Brâhman) Kaundinya,' we mean to say that Kaundinya shall receive *only* buttermilk. Although it would be quite possible to give to Kaundinya first curds and afterwards buttermilk, nevertheless buttermilk alone shall be given to him in preference to curds. If the

To illustrate the above, (in the case of a root which begins with a vowel) the reduplication of the first (syllable taught in P. VI., 1, 1) is superseded by the reduplication of the second (syllable taught in P. VI., 1, 2), although there *would* be room for the latter subsequently to (the taking effect of) the former. Or, to give another instance, the rule P. I., 1, 52 is (*e. g.* in P. VIII., 4, 61) superseded by P. I., 1, 54, notwithstanding that the latter rule might have taken effect (after the former); for, (although the final of स्था, स्नभ् would have been affected by P. I., 1, 52), their initial (to which P. I., 1, 54 refers) would have remained (unaffected by P. I., 1, 54). This is expressed in the Bhâshya on P. I., 1, 47 where it is stated that (an *Apavâda*) supersedes (a general rule) even when both might take effect (together); if it were otherwise, the supersession of the giving of curds by the giving of buttermilk, (which is intended when we say) 'let curds be given to the Brâhmans, buttermilk to Kaundinya,' would not result (from that phrase) because buttermilk might be given (to Kaundinya) after the curds or before.[1]

It is for the above reason[2] that in the Bhâshya on the rule P. III., 1, 31,—where it had previously been suggested that in (the formation of) गोपायिष्यति etc. (the affixes) स्य etc., because they are (taught in the) subsequent (rule P. III., 1, 33), ought to be added (to the root) in preference to (the affixes) आय etc.,—the fol-

maxim of Kaundinya and the buttermilk is quoted in support of the present Paribhâshâ, the latter likewise refers to cases where the special rule *might* take effect after the general rule.

1. See Bhâshya Ed. Ballantyne, pag. 552: लोके हि सत्यपि संभवे बाधनं भवति | तद्यथा दधि ब्राह्मणेभ्यो दीयतां तक्रं कौण्डिन्यायेति सत्यपि संभवे दधिदानस्य तक्रदानं निवर्तकं भवति.....|

2. अत एव, *i. e.* तथा चारिताश्वे एवानेन बाधाङ्गीकारादेव. P.

lowing statement occurs : 'There is no opportunity for the addition of आय etc. (unless they supersede स्य etc; they could not be added) even in (the formation of) गोपायति etc., (because here) शप्, which is one of (the affixes) स्य etc.,[1] ought to be (added to the root). Nor (can one object that) it makes no difference whether शप् is (added) or not; it is quite another thing to say that it makes no difference (whether शप् is added or not); we have spoken before of an opportunity for (the addition of) आय etc. anywhere where स्य etc. would not be (added), and such an opportunity does not exist.' It is the same in the (instance given) above; although (the reduplication of the second syllable) might take place after the (rule which teaches the reduplication of the first syllable) has been applied, (just as आय etc. might be added after the addition of शप्), yet there is no opportunity (for its taking place) anywhere where the (rule which teaches the reduplication of the first syllable) would not be applicable; consequently (both cases are) exactly alike.

Because then (an *Apavâda* or special rule supersedes a general rule even when there would be a possibility of the taking effect of both), therefore an *Apavâda* supersedes (a general rule) also when both affect different (portions of a word etc.). For this reason has it been suggested in the Bhâshya on P. VII., 1, 95, that (in the formation of तिसृणाम्[2] etc. from तिसृ+आम् etc.) the (addition of

1. शप्स्यादिः, *i. e.* स्यादिसमुदायान्तर्गतः शप् P.

2. तिसृ+आम्; P. VII., 1, 54 teaches the addition of नुट् to आम्; P. VII., 2, 100 the substitution of र् for the ऋ of तिसृ before a vowel; the latter rule, being an *Apavâda* of P. VII., 1, 54 etc., would supersede the former (just as in the case of तिस्रः it supersedes the substitution of Guna for ऋ which is taught in P. VII., 3, 110), if we did not learn from P. VI., 4, 4 that नुट् *is* added to आम् and र् *not* substituted for ऋ.

the augment) नुट् (to आम् which is taught in P. VII., 1, 54) ought likewise to be superseded by the substitution of र् (for the ऋ of तिसृ, which is taught) in P. VII., 2, 100, *viz.* because the latter is (taught in) an *Apaváda* or special rule,[1] —(a suggestion) which is disposed of by (the remark that) the rule P. VI., 4, 4 indicates (that the substitution of र् for ऋ does not supersede the addition of नुट् to आम्, because, if it did supersede the latter, the rule P. VI., 4, 4 would have no sense). When some (scholar) says that the (rule P. VI., 4, 4) shows that an *Apaváda* does not supersede (a general rule) when both affect different (portions of a word etc.), he is wrong; for, (if he were correct), then the substitution of लुक् for विन् and मत् (taught in P. V., 3, 65) would not supersede the elision (by P. VI., 4, 155) of the last vowel together with any consonant that may follow it, so often as the latter may present itself.[2]

See Bhâshya on P. VII., 1, 95: नुमचिरतृज्झ्वावेभ्यो नुट् पूर्वविप्रतिषेधेन वक्तव्यः ॥ नुमोऽवकाशः लवूणि जवूनि । नुटोऽवकाशः अग्नीनां वायूनाम् । इहोभयं प्राप्नोति । लवूणां जवूनाम् ॥ अचि रादेशस्यावकाशः । तिसृस्तिष्ठन्ति चतसृस्तिष्ठन्ति । नुटः स एव । इहोभयं प्राप्नोति तिसृणां चतसृणाम् ॥ ....नुड् भवति पूर्वविप्रतिषेधेन । स तर्हि पूर्वविप्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः । न वा नुड्विषये रप्रतिषेधात् । न वैतद्विप्रतिषेधेनापि सिध्यति तिसृणां चतसृणामिति । कथं तर्हि सिध्यति । नुड्विषये रप्रतिषेधात् । नुड्विषये रप्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः । इतरथा हि सर्वापवादः । इतरथा हि सर्वापवादो रादेशः । स यथैव गुणपूर्वसवर्णौ बाधत एवं नुडपि बाधेत । तस्मान्नुड्विषये रप्रतिषेधः । तस्मान्नुड्विषये रादेशस्य प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः । न वक्तव्यः । आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति नाचिं रादेशो नुटं बाधत इति यदयं न तिसृचतसृ इति प्रतिषेधं शास्ति नामि दीर्घत्वस्य ॥

Kaiyaṭa: न वैति । नुड्रूपयोर्विप्रतिषेध उक्तः स नेत्यर्थः ॥ स यथैवेति । मध्येऽपवादा इत्येतदनाश्रित्येतदुक्तम् । तत्र ह्याश्रीयमाणे गुणं न बाधेत । गुणपूर्वसवर्णग्रहणमुपलक्षणमात्र उदित्युत्त्वस्यापि बाधनात्प्रयतिस्तः स्वमित्यादौ ॥ यदयमिति । न हि रादेशे कृते दीर्घस्य प्राप्तिः । अनजन्तत्वान्नुडभावाच्च । एवं च विप्रतिषेधोऽपि न वक्तव्यो ज्ञापकादेव नुड्भावात् ॥

1. Cf. Bhairavamis'ra: अत्रापवादत्वेन नुडाशङ्का न तु येननाप्राप्तिन्यायेन नुटः प्रवृत्त्युत्तरं रादेशाप्रवृत्तेः । विषयभेदेऽपि बाधनं भवतीत्यत्रपरदृष्टान्तता बोध्या ॥

2. *I. e.* In the formation of स्रजिष्ठ etc., from स्रजिन्+इष्ठ etc., the sub-

The statement, however, made by Kaiyaṭa on the rule P. VII., 4, 9, *viz.* that the substitution of दिगि (which is taught in P. VII., 4, 9) may take effect after the reduplication (of the root दै), is an (incorrect) conceit (of his own); and that such is the case has been suggested by Kaiyaṭa himself in his subsequent remarks.[1]

The view of (the author of) the Vârttikas, on the other hand, according to which (a special rule) supersedes (a general rule) only when there is no possibility (of their taking effect both),

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stitution of लुक् for विन् would supersede the elision of इन्, but it would not supersede the elision of the अज् of स्रज्, after the disappearance of विन्; but as a matter of fact the elision of the अज् of स्रज् *is* superseded by the substitution of लुक् for विन्. See pag. 263.

1. In reality the substitution of दिगि for दै which is taught in P. VII., 4, 9 supersedes the reduplication taught in P. VI., 1, 8, because it cannot take effect anywhere where P. VI., 1, 8 would not be applicable.

See Bhâshya on P. VII., 4, 9: इहावदिग्ये ऽवदिग्याने अवदिग्यिरे दिग्यादेशे कृते द्विर्वचनं प्राप्नोति तत्र साभ्यासस्येति वक्तव्यम् । ननु च द्विर्वचने कृते साभ्यासस्य दिग्यादेशो भविष्यति । न सिध्यति । किं कारणम् । दिग्यादेशस्य परत्वात्साभ्यासस्यादेशवचनम् । दिग्यादेशः क्रियतां द्विर्वचनमिति परत्वाद्दिग्यादेशेन भवितव्यम् । तत्र साभ्यासस्येति वक्तव्यम् । एवं तर्हि दिग्यादेशो द्विर्वचनं बाधिष्यते । पुनःप्रसङ्गविज्ञानाद्द्विर्वचनं प्राप्नोति । पुनःप्रसङ्गविज्ञानादिति चेदमादिभिस्तुल्यम् । पुनःप्रसङ्गविज्ञानादिति चेदमादिभिस्तुल्यमेतद्भवति । तद्यथामादिषु कृतेषु पुनःप्रसङ्गाच्छ्नोलुङ्नुमो न भवन्त्येवं दिग्यादेशे कृते पुनःप्रसङ्गाद्द्विर्वचनं न भविष्यति ॥ अथवा विप्रतिषेधे पुनःप्रसङ्ग इत्युच्यते । विप्रतिषेधश्च द्वयोः सावकाशयोः । इह पुनरनवकाशो दिग्यादेशो द्विर्वचनं बाधिष्यते ।.....

Kaiyaṭa observes in regard to the first opinion, that the substitution of दिगि would supersede the reduplication, both being *sâvakâs'a*: तत्र द्विर्वचनस्यावकाशः पपाचेति, कृते द्विर्वचने दयतिसद्भावाद्दिग्यादेशस्य, अकृते तु द्विर्वचन उभयप्रसङ्गे परत्वाद्दिग्यादेशः. He assumes therefore that दिगि is not *anavakâs'a* (*i. e.* that it is *charitârtha*).—In regard to the second view of the Bhâshya he however observes: अनवकाशो दिग्यादेशः ॥ पूर्वं सामान्यविशेषभावमनाश्रित्योभयोः सावकाशत्वमुक्तम् । इदानीं तु सामान्यविशेषाश्रयेण नाप्राप्ते द्विर्वचन आरभ्यमाणस्य दिग्यादेशस्यापवादत्वमुच्यते ॥

viz. because the (supersession of the one rule by the other) is caused (solely) by the conflict (of the two),[1] —this view can, because it is censured by the author of the Bhâshya, not be adopted for the formation of words.

The maxim of Kaundinya and the buttermilk concerns likewise only that which cannot take effect anywhere where the (general rule) would not be applicable,[2] and it concerns besides only that which is taught (in a rule);[3] this appears from the

1. *Scil.* 'but not by the mere fact that the one rule cannot take effect anywhere where the other would not be applicable.'

2. P. VII., 2, 117 can therefore not be regarded as an *Apavâda* of P. VII., 2, 116 because the former rule can and does take effect in cases where P. VII., 2, 116 is not applicable, as *e. g.* in सुश्रुत्, सौश्रुतः.

See Bhâshya on P. VII., 2, 117: तद्धितेष्वचामादिवृद्धावन्त्योपधालक्षणप्रतिषेधः | तद्धितेष्वचामादिवृद्धावन्त्योपधालक्षणाया वृद्धेः प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः | क्रौष्टुः जागत इति | ननु चाचामादिवृद्धिरन्त्योपधालक्षणां वृद्धिं बाधिष्यते | कथमन्यस्योच्यमानान्यस्य बाधिका स्यात् | असति खल्वपि संभवे बाधनं भवति | अस्ति च संभवो यदुभयं स्यात् | लोकविज्ञानान्सिद्धं सत्यपि संभवे बाधनं भवति तद्यथा दधि ब्राह्मणेभ्यो दीयतां तक्रं कौण्डिन्यायेति सत्यपि संभवे दधिदानस्य तक्रदानं निवर्तकं भवत्येवमिहापि सत्यपि संभवेऽचामादिवृद्धिरन्त्योपधालक्षणां वृद्धिं बाधिष्यते | विषम उपन्यासः | नाप्राप्ते दधिदाने तक्रदानमारभ्यते तत्प्राप्त आरभ्यमाणं बाधकं भविष्यति | इह पुनरप्राप्तायामन्त्योपधालक्षणायां वृद्धावचामादिवृद्धिरारभ्यते | सुश्रुत् सौश्रुत इति || पुष्करसद्ग्रहणात् | अथवा यदयमनुशतिकादिषु पुष्करसच्छब्दं पठति तज्ज्ञापयत्याचार्योऽचामादिवृद्धावन्त्योपधालक्षणवृद्धिर्न भवतीति ||

3. *I. e.* Only that which is *taught* in a special rule supersedes that which is taught in a general rule; but one cannot say that by the Takra-Kaundinya-nyâya a special statement (विशेषानुवाद) concerning that which undergoes an operation supersedes another general statement (सामान्यानुवाद). P. III., 1, 22 teaches that the Frequ. affix यङ् is added to monosyllabic roots beginning with a consonant to denote that the sense of repetition or intensity is expressed by the root; P. III., 1, 23, that the same affix is added to roots denoting motion to denote that the idea of crookedness is expressed by the root. Here it would be wrong to maintain that *e. g.* वावद्यते can by the Takra-Kaundinya-nyâya not mean 'he

Bhâshya on the rules P. VII., 2, 117, III., 1, 22[1] etc.

Sometimes however (one rule) supersedes (another) solely because there would be no opportunity whatever[2] for its taking effect (if it did not do so; in the formation of रामायाम् etc. from रामा+ङि etc. the substitution of) आम् for (the termination) ङि (taught in P. VII., 3, 116) supersedes thus (the addition of) याट् etc. (to ङि, which is taught in P. VII., 3, 113); for after the addition of याट् etc. (the substitution of) आम् for ङि would no longer be possible because (ङि) which is put down (in P. VII., 3, 116 as that for which आम् shall be substituted) would be separated (from the base रामा by याट् etc). Here the supersession

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goes frequently,' and Kaiyaṭa who on P. III., 1, 23 has adduced that Nyâya is therefore incorrect. वात्रड्यते cannot mean 'he goes frequently' simply because that sense would not be understood from it.

1. The Bhâshya referred to is the Bhâshya on the word नित्यम् in P. III., 1, 23:

नित्यं कौटिल्ये गतौ लुासदचरजप° । उत्तरयोर्विधेरङ्ग विशेषासंप्रत्ययान्नित्यग्रहणमनर्थकं न हि कुटिलं क्रामतीति चङ्क्रम्यत इति गम्यते ॥ अर्थेभ्यः क्रियासमभिहारे यङ भावितव्यम् । क्रियासमभिहारे च नैनेभ्यः । क्रियासमभिहारे नैनेभ्यो भावितव्यम् । भृशं जपति ब्राह्मणो भृशं समिधो दहतीत्येव ॥

Kaiyaṭa: चङ्क्रम्यत इत्यस्माद्धीऽर्थः प्रतीयते नासौ कुटिलं क्रामतीति वाक्येन शक्यः प्रत्याययितुमिति तदर्थानभिधानादेव वाक्यं न भविष्यति । अर्थान्तरे च कौटिल्यमात्रप्रतिपादने वाक्यं निवारयितुमशक्यमिति नित्यग्रहणमनर्थकमित्यर्थः ॥ क्रियास° । तक्रकौण्डिन्यन्यायेन कौटिल्यभावगर्हाभ्यो यङः क्रियासमभिहारादिच्छया स्वीकृतत्वादिति भावः ॥

Cf. Pâyagunḍa: भावैरेकाच इति । यद्यप्येवं सूत्रे न किमपि भाष्ये उक्तं तथापि नित्यं कौटिल्ये लुासदित्यत्रार्थेभ्यः क्रियासमभिहारे यङ भवितव्यमिति प्रश्ने क्रियासमभिहारे च नैनेभ्य इत्युक्तम् । तत्र पूर्ववार्त्तिकस्य विशेषासंप्रत्ययादित्यस्य चकारेणानुकर्षः । तथा च भृशं जपतीत्यात्मार्थविशेषस्य तादृशयङन्तादप्रतीतौ स नेति भावः ॥ यद्यनुवादेऽपि तन्न्यायसंचारः स्यात्तर्हि तथैव वदेत् । यतो नोक्तमतस्तस्य विधेयविषयत्वमेव । तत्रत्यकैयटस्तन्न्यायसंचारपरस्त्वयुक्त एव ॥

2. *I. e.* Not even after the taking effect of the other rule.

(by one rule) of other (rules) consists merely in this that the superseding (rule) takes effect first. When here after the taking effect of the superseding rule the general rule (which was superseded by it still) applies, then that too takes effect; *e. g.* in the very instance which was mentioned above, याट् etc. *are* added (after the substitution of आम् for कि). But if (after the taking effect of the superseding rule the general rule) does not apply, then (it does) not (take effect); *e. g.* in (the formation of) पचेयुः etc. (from पच+या+उः) the (substitution of a) long vowel (for the final अ of पच which is taught in P. VII., 3, 101) does not take place after the substitution (by P. VII., 2, 80) of इय् (for या)[1] which, because otherwise there would have been no opportunity for the taking effect of it, has superseded the (substitution of) long (आ for the final of पच).

What has been stated last, is (by modern grammarians)[2] expressed thus:

P. LVIII.: Sometimes[3] the general rule takes effect even where the *Apavâda* has been applied.

Here the word *Apavâda*[4] denotes (a rule) which supersedes (another rule because otherwise there would be no opportunity whatever for the taking effect of it).

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1. *I. e.* The final अ of पच is not lengthened by P. VII., 3, 101 because it is no longer followed by a Sârvadhâtuka affix beginning with one of the letters contained in the Pratyâhâra यञ्.

2. तदेतत् *i. e.* तदुत्तरप्राप्तिकोत्सर्गकर्तृकं भवनमित्येतदेव; पठन्ति *scil.* आचार्याः: P.

3. क्वचित् 'in some cases,' *i. e.* when the general rule after the taking effect of the superseding rule is still applicable; in other cases, *viz.* when the general rule after the taking effect of the superseding rule no longer applies, it is entirely superseded.

4. We have learned from Par. LVII. that an *Apavâda* is a rule which cannot apply in any case that would not fall under some other

The above[1] is expressed in the Bhâshya on P. VII., 4, 82 in the following passage: '*Apavâdas* do not supersede general rules when both teach changes of a reduplicative syllable. (The formation of) अजीगणत् (offers an instance for this maxim); in (the formation of) this form the (substitution of) ई for the final of the reduplicative syllable of गण् (which is taught in P. VII., 4, 97) does, although (this rule is) an *Apavâda*, not supersede the elision of the consonant ण् (taught in P. VII., 4, 60.[2]—This is incorrect); the (substitution of) ई for (the final of

general rule; and we have seen that such an *Apavâda* may be two-fold; it either cannot take effect at all if it does not supersede the general rule, (*i. e.* it would be *anavakâs'a* if it did not supersede the general rule); or it is such that it might take effect together with or after the general rule. As we do not want any Paribhâshâ to teach us that an *anavakâs'a* rule supersedes another general rule, (see note on pag. 321), it follows that Par. LVII. can only teach us that an *Apavâda* which might take effect together with or after the general rule, supersedes the latter; and it follows moreover, that we are allowed to say 'one rule supersedes another rule *Apavâdatvena i. e.* "because it is an *Apavâda*," only when it is such that it might take effect together with or after the general rule, but that when the latter is not the case, we have to say 'it supersedes another rule *anavakâs'atvena i. e.* because it would not take effect anywhere if it did not supersede another rule.' An *Apavâda* in the narrower sense of the word that results from Par. LVII. supersedes a general rule altogether; an *anavakâs'a* rule, on the other hand, supersedes a general rule only so far that it takes effect before it; and the general rule takes effect subsequently if after the taking effect of the *anavakâs'a* rule it is still applicable.

1. 'The above' *i. e.* that there is a difference between an *Apavâda* which might take effect together with or after a general rule, and an *anavakâs'a Apavâda*. (See Chitprabhâ: नन्वपवादशब्दस्यैभयसाधारण्यमेव कुतो न विनिगमनाविरहादित्यनस्तकौण्डिन्यन्यायेन बाधविषय एवापवादशब्दो नोभयसाधारण इत्यल सप्तमस्य चतुर्थस्यगुणो यङ्लुकीरिति सूत्रस्थं भाष्यं विनिगमकमाह तदुक्तमिति ॥)

2. *I. e.* The ण् of गण् is elided first, and subsequently ई is substituted for the अ of the remaining ग.

the reduplicative syllable of) गण् would not, because it is (taught in) an *Apavâda*, supersede the elision of the consonant ण्. Why then? Because there would be no opportunity whatever for the taking place of it (if it did not supersede the elision of ण्).' The meaning (of P. VII, 4, 97) being this that ई is to be substituted for the final ण् of the reduplicative syllable गण्, there can be no opportunity for the taking effect of that (rule) after (ण्) has disappeared by the elision (taught in P. VII., 4, 60); if, on the other hand, the (substitution of) ई (for ण्) takes place first, then there is no occasion for the (rule VII., 4, 60), because (in that case) the final consonant no longer exists.[1] Subsequently (the formation of अजीगणत्) is (in the Bhâshya) accounted for by (the maxim) that, so far as changes of a reduplicative syllable are concerned, rules (which teach those changes) do not supersede one another;[2] and this being (accepted as correct), the elision (of the final ण् of गण्) takes place first, and subsequently ई is substituted for the final of what remains (of the reduplicative syllable, *i. e.* for the अ of ग), because it is only (thus that the formation of the rule P. VII., 4, 97) serves a purpose;[3] thus all is correct. And one cannot say that (the rule P. VII., 4, 97) may also easily be proved to be an *Apavâda* by the maxim expressed in Par. LVII., for it has been stated that a rule is only then considered to be an *Apavâda* (in the sense that results from Par. LVII.), when it might take effect (after the general rule; and such is not the case with P. VII., 4, 97).—This is suggested also in the Bhâshya on P. I., 2, 9; for there it has

1. Accordingly P. VII., 4, 97 cannot be an *Apavâda* of P. VII., 4, 60 in the narrower sense of that term which results from Par. LVII.

2. See Par. LXVI.

3. सामर्थ्यात् *i. e.* ईत्वविधायकसन्नारम्भसामर्थ्यात् P.

been stated that (in the formation of forms like चिचीषति) the (substitution of a) long vowel (for the radical vowel, which is taught in P. VI., 4, 16, first) supersedes the (substitution by P. VII., 3, 84 of) Guṇa (for the same vowel), because no result would accrue from it after the (substitution of) Guṇa and because there would therefore be no opportunity at all for the taking effect of it, (if it did not supersede the substitution of Guṇa. Now it is asserted that, if the rule P. I., 2, 9 did not exist), then Guṇa would be (substituted) after the substitution of the long vowel, (and that the rule P. VI., 4, 16) which teaches the substitution of the long vowel, would (in this case have only the one) object, to teach the substitution of a long vowel for the इ of सि, in order that after this substitution (सि) might be denoted by the word सी in P. VII., 4, 54. Under these circumstances, (it is stated, is the desiderative affix of such forms as चिचीषति etc.) by P. I., 2, 9 made (an affix) characterized by the indicatory letter क्, in order to prevent the substitution of Guṇa for which there would be occasion after (the substitution of the long vowel.[1] If), on the other hand, (the maxim expressed in Par. LVII. were applicable also to a rule for the taking effect of which there would be no opportunity whatever if it did not supersede another general rule, then P. VI., 4, 16) would (in the present case) supersede (P. VII., 3, 84) on account of its being an *Apavâda* (in the sense assigned to this term in Par. LVII.; and under these circumstances) the general (Guṇa-) rule (P. VII., 3, 84) could not take effect where (P. VI., 4, 16) takes effect and the (above passage

1. P. VI., 4, 16 first supersedes P. VII., 3, 84 because it would otherwise be *anavakâs'a*; subsequently P. VII., 3, 84 would take effect if this were not prevented by P. I., 2, 9. If, on the other hand, P. VI., 4, 16 did supersede P. VII., 3, 84 by Par. LVII., the latter rule would be *entirely* superseded by P. VI., 4, 16 and P, I., 2, 9 would be superfluous.

from the) Bhâshya (on P. I., 2, 9) and that rule itself would clearly have no sense.

To say however that in the case of काञ्चनी etc. (the affix) अण् (which is taught in the general rule P. IV., 1, 83) has by the maxim 'sometimes the general rule takes effect even where the *Apavâda* has been applied' been added also (to काञ्चन) to which (the affix) मयट् which is taught in the *Apavâda* (P. IV., 3, 44) is added, is untenable, because this is contrary to the Bhâshya on the rule P. III., 3, 12; for there it has been stated that अण् is repeated (in P. III., 3, 12) in order that it may be added also where an *Apavâda* may be applicable[1] as *e. g.* in गौदायो व्रजानि etc.[2] In the case of काञ्चनी etc. अण् must be regarded to have been added (to काञ्चन) by P. IV., 2, 92 in the sense of 'made of' gold.

With reference to the above (Par. LVII.) the following must not be lost sight of. When the word येन in येन-नाप्राप्ते 'while *another*—is necessarily applying,' denotes 'anything different from the *Apavâda*,' then, whatever else than the *Apavâda* is applicable where the *Apavâda* applies, all that must be superseded (by the *Apavâda*), because nothing (to which the *Apavâda* might apply) is of such a nature that another rule would not apply to it. This is called the general consideration of what must be superseded (whatever this may be). Provided one can produce any example, one may speak of this also when a supersession is caused by the fact that there would be no op-

1. This passage of the Bhâshya would have no sense if the maxim 'sometimes the general rule.....' were adopted here.

2. See Bhâshya on P. II., 3, 12: किमर्थमिदमुच्यते । नाविशेषेण कर्मण्यण् [3.2.1] इत्यण् कर्मणि विहितः स क्रियायामपि क्रियार्थायां न्यत्र च भविष्यति अणः पुनर्वचनमवाप्तविषयेऽनिवृत्त्यर्थम् अवाप्तः पुनर्वचनं क्रियतेऽवाप्तविषयेऽनिवृत्तिर्यथा स्यात् । गौदायो व्रजति काञ्चलदायो व्रजतीति ॥

portunity whatever for the taking effect of a rule (if it did not supersede something else), for there is nothing which could restrict (that consideration to an *Apavâda* in the sense which results from Par. LVII.). On the other hand, when the word येन denotes 'a rule' or 'an operation,' then we have to consider specially (what particular rule or operation) should be superseded. Also when a supersession is caused by the fact that there would be no opportunity whatever for the taking effect of a rule (if it did not supersede something else) is this special consideration possible, provided one can produce any example, because one may consider whether (a rule) becomes effective by superseding this or by superseding that (particular rule or operation).

PARIBHÂSHÂ LIX.

When then (the word येन in Par. LVII.) out of its (three possible meanings) denotes 'an operation,' and it has accordingly been ascertained (*e. g.*) that (the substitution of) Vṛiddhi which is taught (in P. VI., 1, 89), while another operation *viz.* the substitution (for two vowels) of the second of them (applies in all instances that would fall under P. VI., 1, 89), supersedes (by Par. LVII.) this (latter operation), one has to consider the particular (rules in which this latter operation is taught) and to ask which of them (is superseded by P. VI., 1, 89. To answer this question the author of the Paribhâshâs) says:

P. LIX.: *Apavâdas* that precede (the rules which teach operations that have to be superseded

by the *Apavâda*-operations), supersede (only) those rules that stand nearest to them, not the subsequent (rules).[1]

The reason for (the validity of) this (maxim) is this: When it is absolutely necessary that, (in order to become effective, a rule) should supersede something else, it does become effective by superseding the nearest (rule) which (being the nearest) presents itself first; and such being the case, there is nothing to prove that it (likewise) supersedes (a rule) which follows upon that (nearest rule) and presents itself (on that account) later, for (after having superseded the nearest rule) it no longer wants (something to be superseded by it), and besides there is nothing to prove why, (when the *Apavâda* by superseding the nearest rule has become *charitârtha*), the rule P. I., 4, 2 (by which of two rules that are both *charitârtha* the subsequent rule possesses greater force than the preceding rule) should not be valid.[2]

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1. *E. g.* P. VI., 1, 89 supersedes P. VI., 1, 94 (*e. g.* उप+एनि=उपैनि by P. VI., 1, 89, *not* उपेनि by P. VI., 1, 94), but not P. VI., 1, 95; and we form therefore अव+एहि (*i. e.* आ-इहि)=अवेहि by the latter rule, and *not* अवैहि by P. VI., 1, 89.

2. *I. c.* Both rules being *charitârtha* (*e. g.* P. VI., 1, 89 in the case of उप+एनि=उपैनि, and P. VI., 1, 95 in the case of अव+ओदा=अवौदा) the subsequent rule 95 must by P. I., 4, 2 supersede the preceding rule 89, when both are applicable in one and the same place (अव+एहि). See Par. XL.

PARIBHÂSHÂ LX.

When it has been ascertained (*e. g.*) that the rule P. IV., 1, 55, so far as the portion commencing with ओढ् is concerned, supersedes something else, *viz.* the prohibition of (the addition of) ङीष्, the question arises which (of the rules) that forbid (the addition of ङीष्, is superseded by P. IV., 1, 55. To answer this question the author of the Paribhâshâs) says:

P. LX.: *Apavâdas* that are surrounded (by the rules which teach operations that have to be superseded by the *Apavâda*-operations), supersede (only) those rules that precede, not those that follow, them.

Accordingly (P. IV., 1, 55) supersedes, so far as the five words ओढ् etc. are concerned, only the prohibition (of ङीष्) contained in the words असंयोगोपधात् 'not having a conjunct for its penultimate' (of P. IV., 1, 54), but not the prohibition (of ङीष्) which is contained in the rule P. IV., 1, 57.[1] This is found in the

1. P. IV., 1, 54 teaches that ङीष् is *not* added optionally to Bahuvrihi etc. compounds which end with nouns denoting a part of the body that have a conjunct for their penultimate.

P. IV., 1, 55 teaches that ङीष् *is* added optionally to Bahuvrihi etc. compounds which end with ओढ् etc.

P. IV., 1, 57 teaches that ङीष् is *not* added to Bahuvrihi-compounds that begin with सह etc. and end with a noun denoting a part of the body.

By Par. LVII. P. IV., 1, 55 is an *Apavâda* of both P. IV., 1, 54 and 57, nevertheless it supersedes by the present Paribhâshâ only the preceding rule 54, not the following rule 57. We do form therefore by P. IV., 1, 55 *e. g.* दीर्घजङ्घा or दीर्घजङ्घी, but we can only form विद्यमानजङ्घा by P. IV., 1 57.

Bhâshya on P. IV., 1, 55.[1] The reason for (the validity of) this (Paribhâshâ) is this that (an *Apavâda*, when it has become effective) by superseding (the rule) which presents itself first,[2] no longer wants (to supersede something else).

(The first portion नासिकोदर of P. IV., 1, 55 is an *Apavâda* of P. IV., 1, 56 and 57, but supersedes by Par. LIX. only P. IV., 1, 56).

1. See Bhâshya on P. IV., 1, 55: इह तावन्नासिकोदर इति वक्ष्यमाणलक्षणश्च प्रतिषेधः प्राप्नोति सहनञ्विद्यमानपूर्वलक्षणश्च । पुरस्तादपवादा अनन्तरान्विधीन्बाधन्त इति । एवमियं विभाषा वक्ष्यमाणलक्षणं प्रतिषेधं बाधिष्यते सहनञ्विद्यमानलक्षणं न बाधिष्यते । ओष्ठजद्दन्तकर्णशृङ्गाच्चेति संयोगोपधलक्षणश्च प्रतिषेधः प्राप्नोति सहनञ्विद्यमानलक्षणश्च । मध्येऽपवादाः पूर्वान्विधीन्बाधन्त इति । एवमियं विभाषा संयोगोपधलक्षणं प्रतिषेधं बाधिष्यते सहनञ्विद्यमानपूर्वं न बाधिष्यते ॥

2. पूर्वोपस्थित°, पूर्वानुभवजन्यसंस्कारजन्यस्मृतिविषयेत्यर्थः । उत्तरस्य त्वननुभवात्स्मृत्ययोगः ॥ P.

PARIBHÂSHÂ LXI.

One might suppose that P. III., 4, 88, just as it teaches that (the substitute हि for सि) is (in the Veda) optionally *apit*, (*i. e.* not characterized by an indicatory प्), which term immediately precedes (the rule III., 4, 88) in P. III., 4, 87, would also teach that (in the Veda) हि is optionally (substituted for सि, the substitution of हि for सि having likewise been taught in P. III., 4, 87); in like manner one might suppose that the prohibition (of Vṛiddhi) in P. VII., 2, 4, as it prohibits the Vṛiddhi that would result from P. VII,, 2, 3, would likewise prohibit the Vṛiddhi taught in P. VII., 2, 1 and VII., 2, 114. (The author of the Paribhâshâs) gives therefore (the following Paribhâshâ) which is altogether based on the maxim stated above :[1]

1. उक्तन्याय°, *i. e.* अनन्तरप्रथमोपस्थितबाधेन साकल्ये व्यवहितापक्षादुपस्थितबाधे मानाभावः P. See Par. LIX.

P. LXI : (A rule, may it enjoin or forbid anything), either enjoins or forbids (only) that which is nearest (to it in some other rule).

It is for this reason that the word ङीष् in P. IV., 1, 26 serves a purpose ; for it (has been employed) in order that (P. IV., 1, 26) may not enjoin (the addition of) ङीष् which is nearest (to P. IV., 1, 26, *viz.* in P. IV., 1, 25, and the addition of which P. IV., 1, 26 would have taught by the present Paribhâshâ, had ङीष् not been employed in the latter rule). And (for the same reason) does the word दीर्घः in the rule P. VI., 4, 39 serve a purpose ; for it (has been employed in P. VI., 4, 39) in order that (P. VI., 4, 39) may not forbid merely what is taught in the nearest rule P. VI., 4, 37 (*viz.* the elision of a nasal, but also the substitution of a long vowel which is taught in P. VI., 4, 15. Had the word दीर्घः not been employed in P. VI., 4, 39, then this rule would by the present Paribhâshâ have prohibited only the elision of a nasal taught in the nearer rule VI., 4, 37, but not the substitution of a long vowel which is taught in the more remote rule P. VI., 4, 15).—Kaiyaṭa on the rule P. VII., 1, 21 remarks that the present maxim possesses greater force than the maxims (expressed in Paribhâshâs) LX. etc.[1]—Another view (concerning the

1. औश् in P VII., 1, 21 is an *Apavâda* of लुक्; this लुक् is taught in P. II., 4, 71 and P. VII., 1, 22. By Par. LX. P. VII., 1, 21 would supersede P. II., 4, 71, and not P. VII., 1, 22; but in reality P. VII., 1, 21 supersedes by the present Paribhâshâ the nearer rule P. VII., 1, 22, and not the remote rule P. II., 4, 71.

See Bhâshya on P. VII., 1, 21: अष्टाभ्य औश् । औशश्चौ । औशश्चाविति वक्तव्यम् । किमिदमश्चाविति । अनुत्तरपद इति । किं प्रयोजनम् । इह मा भूत् अष्टपुत्रः अष्टभार्यः । अस्तु । लुक् तत्र । अस्त्वत्र औइत्वं लुग्भविष्यति । षड्भ्योऽयेवं प्रसज्येत । इहापि तर्हि प्राप्नोति । अष्टौ तिष्ठन्ति । अष्टौ पश्येति । अपवादः । अपवादस्त्वौइत्वं लुकं

relation that obtains between this and the preceding Paribhâshâs) is this, that the present (Paribhâshâ) is based on (the maxim of) association, and that either this or the preceding Paribhâshâs are had recourse to just as (the adoption of one or the other) suits the (formation of the) forms (which have to be made up by the rules of grammar).—Or it may be that now and then the present maxim is set aside in consequence of the circumstance that a Svarita is assigned[1] to some (portion or other of a rule which is intended to be valid in a subsequent rule). In this manner P. IV., 1, 15 *e. g.* enjoins (the addition of the affix) ङीष्, although ङीष् (in P. IV., 1, 13) intervenes between the (ङीष् in P. IV., 1, 5

वाधिष्यते । इहापि तर्हि बाधेन । अष्टपुत्रः अष्टभार्यः । यस्य विषये । यस्य लुको विषय औशत्वं तस्यापवादः । यो वा तस्मादनन्तरः । अथवानन्तरस्य लुको बाधकं भविष्यति । कुत एतत् । अनन्तरस्य विधिर्वा भवति प्रतिषेधो वेति ॥

Kaiyaṭa: औशदादिति । औशादेशो नाप्राप्ते लुग्यारभ्यमाणो विशेषाभावात्सर्वस्य लुको बाधकः प्राप्नोतीति भावः । इतरो येननाप्राप्तिन्यायेन षड्भ्यो लुगित्यस्यैवायमपवादो न सुपो धातुप्रातिपदिकयोरित्यस्यापीति मत्वाह । अस्तिति । भवत्वौशादेशास्तस्य लुग्भविष्यतीत्यर्थः । एतच्चौशादेशप्रवृत्तिमभ्युपगम्योच्यते । नित्यत्वात्पूर्वमेव लुका भाव्यम् । अन्तरङ्गानपि विधीन्बहिरङ्गो लुग्बाधत इति वा । इतरो लुको विशेषमपश्यन्यद्यपवादे प्रवृत्त उत्सर्गः प्रवर्तते तदापि प्रसङ्ग इत्याह । षड्भ्य इति । सूत्रैकदेशानुकरणमेतत् । षड्भ्यो लुगित्ययमप्योशो लुक् प्राप्नोति । अथ विधानसामर्थ्यान्न भवति तदाष्टपुत्र इत्यत्रापि न प्राप्नोतीत्यर्थः । इतरो येन नाप्राप्ते तस्य बाधनमित्याश्रित्याह । अपवाद इति । षड्भ्यो लुगिति सर्वत्र प्राप्नोतीति स एवौशा बाध्यते सुपो धातुप्रातिपदिकयोरित्ययं तु क्वचित्प्राप्नोतीति तं प्रत्यस्य बाधकत्वायोगादन्तरङ्गानपि विधीन्बहिरङ्गो लुग्बाधत इति पूर्वमेव लुक् प्रवर्तते ॥ यो वा तस्मादिति । औशः षड्भ्यो लुगित्ययमनन्तरो द्वितीयाध्यायविहितस्तु व्यवहितः । ननु मध्येऽपवाद इति द्वितीयाध्यायविहितस्यैव लुको बाधा प्राप्नोति । नैष दोषः । यत्र द्वावपि विहितौ पूर्वोत्तरौ तत्र पूर्वानुभवाहितसंस्कारोऽजानितस्मृत्युपारूढस्य पूर्वस्य युक्तो बाध इह त्वनेकाध्यायव्यवहितौ द्वितीयाध्यायविहितो लुङ्महता यत्नेन स्मरणीयो ऽनन्तरस्त्वनुभवनीय इति स एव बाध्यते । अथवा सत्यामसत्यां चोभयौ प्रत्यासत्त्यानन्तरस्यैव बाधेन भाव्यम् । एतच्च लुकः समकक्षत्वमभ्युपगम्योक्तं भिन्नकक्षौ त्वेतौ लुकावेकस्य सर्वत्र प्राप्त्यारस्य क्वचित्प्राप्त्या ॥

1. See Par. XVIII., XL. Pag. 103, 197.

and P. IV., 1, 15; similarly) the rule P. IV., 1, 10 forbids (the addition of) both टाप् and ङीप् (whereas according to the present Paribhâshâ it would forbid only the addition of the टाप् in P. IV., 1, 9, not that of ङीप् in P. IV., 1, 5).—The present (Paribhâshâ) is found in the Bhâshya on P. I., 1, 42 etc.[1] More elsewhere.[2]

1. See Ed. Ballantyne pag. 512.
2. उद्द्योतादौ. P.

PARIBHÂSHÂS LXII., LXIII., AND LXIV.

Now one might say that, if *e. g.* in the (formation of the) 3. Plur. Pres. Ind. Par. of भा, अन्त् were, because (its substitution) is *antaranga*[1], substituted (by P. VII., 1, 3 for the झ् of भा+झि), then the substitution of अत् (which is taught in P. VII., 1, 4) would be impossible, for (the substitute अन्त् for झ्) would not be equivalent to the original (झ्), because (the original झ्), with reference to which P. VII., 1, 4 teaches (the substitution of अत्), is a letter; accordingly the (rule P. VII., 1, 4) would happen to serve no purpose whatsoever. (The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore:

P. LXII: *Apavâdas*, it is certain, are considered first (in order to find out where they apply); afterwards the general rules (are made to take effect in all cases to which it has thus been ascertained that the *Apavâdas* do not apply).[2]

1. अन्तरङ्गत्वात्, पूर्वोपस्थाननिमित्तकत्वात्, पूर्वोपस्थाननिमित्तकत्वात्, अल्पनिमित्तकत्वात्, अपरनिमित्तकत्वाच्च. P.

2. Accordingly अन्त् is never substituted for झ् in the 3. Plur. Pres. Ind. Par. of भा.

The meaning is this that he who is guided solely by the rules (of grammar) first looks about to find out where the *Apavâda* applies, and having thus ascertained that a particular form does not fall under that (*Apavâda*), he employs for its formation the general rule ; if it were otherwise, (the general and the special rules) उत्सर्गौ (in some cases both) be employed alternately.[1] अभिनिवि- (two means 'they are taken into consideration.' Paribhâshâ LXV., however, does not apply in the case of दधनि etc. because (P. VII., 1, 4) cannot take effect anywhere where (P. VII., 1, 3 which teaches) the substitution of अन्त् (for झ्) would not be applicable.[2]

He however who is guided solely by the forms (of the language) employs, even without having considered the *Apavâda* rule, the general rule for the formation of all except those forms that fall under the *Apavâda* rule, because he also acquires religious merit only when he employs the words after due remembrance of their grammatical formation. This (the author of the Paribhâshâs) expresses thus :

P. LXIII : Or (we may say that) first all (forms) which fall under the *Apavâda* are set aside, and that subsequently the general rule is employed (in the formation of the remaining forms).

The word तत: 'subsequently' means 'even before the *Apavâda* rule has been taken into consideration.' प्रकल्प्य means 'after setting aside.'[3]

1. *Viz.* because both are equally authoritative.

2. चरितार्थ्याभावात्, तस्य युगपत्प्राप्तिविषयत्वाच्चेति वाच्यम्. P.

3. According to Par. LXII. the taking effect of the *Utsarga*, which

It is because (the last Paribhâshâ conveys the meaning here assigned to it, and because consequently Par. LXII. and LXIII. really teach one and the same thing, though in different ways), that in the Bhâshya on P. II., 3, 46, after both the above (Paribhâshâs) have been given, something to this effect has been said, *viz.* that the general rule never takes effect at once, (but) that it waits first for *Apavâda* rule.[1] Modern (grammarians)[2] give (the following Paribhâshâ) which is entirely based hereon[3] :

P. LXIV : An *Apavâda* supersedes, even though the causes of its (application) are still to present themselves, a general rule the causes (of the application) of which are already present.[4]

When[5] Kaiyaṭa however on P. VI., 1, 5, after having quoted the beginning प्रकल्प्य वा (of Par. LXIII.) proceeds to illustrate (that Paribhâshâ) by saying that *e. g.* on account of the rule P.

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applies everywhere, is in particular cases prevented by the *Apavâda* which is kept in mind. According to Par. LXIII. the *Utsarga* does from the very beginning *not* apply everywhere.

1. See Bhâshya on P. II., 3, 46 : न तावदल कदाचित्तिङादेशो भवति । अपवादो तावच्छानृज्ञानचौ प्रतीक्षते ॥.

2. नवीनाः, *i. e.* दीक्षितादयः. P.

3. एतन्मूलकमेव, *i. e.* एतदुभयफलिनमूलकमेव. P.

4. *E. g.* दधति; the *Apavâda* P. VII., 1, 4 supersedes the general rule P. VII., 1, 3 in भा+झि, although भा is not yet reduplicated.

5. P. Nâgojibhaṭṭa now censures Kaiyaṭa's wrong interpretation of Par. LXIII.—It appears from Kaiyaṭa's words that he takes Par. LXIII. to mean that the general rule takes effect in such a manner as to leave room for the taking effect of the *Apavâda*; this interpretation however is contrary to the words तत उत्सर्गोऽभिनिविशते of Par. LXIII. (Cf. Râghavendra : यथाप्रवादविषयसिद्धिस्तथोत्सर्गोऽभिनिविशत इत्येव वक्तव्यं स्यान्न तु तत इत्यादि । यथोक्त्या हि पूर्वमुत्सर्गोप्रवृत्तिर्गम्यत इति भावः ॥)

VI., 1, 37 Samprasâraṇa is first substituted for the later semivowel,[1] and that on the other hand the non- (substitution of Samprasâraṇa) for the preceding (semivowel) is caused by this (substitution of Samprasâraṇa for the later semivowel), his statement is not in accordance with the meaning of the words तत उत्सर्गः etc. (of Par. LXIII).[2] —To say however that the above (two Paribhâshâs LXII. and LXIII.) convey the sense that 'without the meaning of the *Apaváda* rule (having been ascertained) the general rule does not convey any meaning,' is incorrect; for (in order to arrive at this explanation) it must be assumed that the words अभिनिविशन्ते (in Par. LXII.) and अपवादविषयम् etc. (in Par. LXIII.) are not employed in their proper sense; besides there is no reason why a sentence (such as a general rule) should not convey a meaning when the meaning conveyed by its words is (ascertained and) present to the mind.—

Where, on the other hand, the *Apaváda* is forbidden, there the general rule *does* take effect even in instances that would have fallen under the *Apaváda* rule (had it not been forbidden); *e. g.* in the (formation of the) N. Du. of वृक्ष (from वृक्ष+औ) Vriddhi *is* (by the general rule P. VI., 1, 88) substituted (for अ+औ), for the (substitution for two vowels) of a long vowel homogeneous with the first (of them, which is taught in the *Apaváda* rule P. VI., 1, 102), does, because it is forbidden by P. VI., 1, 104, not take place, and does consequently not supersede the

1. *E. g.* व्यभू, विद्धः; P. VI., 1, 16 & 37.

2. See Kaiyaṭa on P. VI., 1, 5: प्रकल्प्य चैतत् । यथा न संप्रसारणे संप्रसारणमिति वचनात्परस्य यणः पूर्वं संप्रसारणं प्रवर्तते पूर्वस्य तु तन्निमित्तः प्रतिषेधः । यदि तु परस्य यणः पूर्वं न प्रवर्तते तदा पूर्वस्यापि प्रतिषेधो न स्यात् ॥

Pâyagunda adds: किंच न संप्रसारण इत्यत्र ज्ञापकादयमर्थः साधितो भगवता । यदि न्यायविषयस्तर्हि भाष्यासंगतिरेवेति तद्भाष्यविरुद्धमित्यादि बोध्यम् ॥

(substitution of) Vṛiddhi (taught in the general rule). On this account are forms like नौ etc. in P. III., 2, 127 etc. quite correct; and this very (form नौ) which is put down (in P. III., 2, 127) proves that the maxim according to which (something does not take place) when the occasion (for the taking place of it) has once gone by, is not adopted in Pâṇini's grammar;[1] this is also suggested in the Bhâshya on the rule P. I., 1, 3, as has been shown in the Bhâshyapradîpoddyota.[2] The maxim which says that Devadatta does not revive when his murderer has been killed is no way applicable in the present case (of वृक्षौ, नौ etc.). When Devadatta has been killed, he does not revive, but Devadatta does cease to be in danger of his life when the man who attempts to murder him is killed. So it is also in the present case; the (substitution for two vowels of a) long vowel homogeneous with the first (of them) does not put an end to the (substitution of) Vṛiddhi, but it merely *applies*, which is as it were an *attempt* to put an end (to the substitution of Vṛiddhi), for a prohibition (like P. VI., 1, 104) forbids only something that is applicable (but not something which actually has taken

1. First the general rule P. VI., 1, 88 teaches the substitution of Vṛiddhi, afterwards the *Apavâda* P. VI., 1, 102 the substitution of the *Pûrvasavarnadîrgha*, and finally P. VI., 1, 104 forbids the substitution of the *Pûrvasavarnadîrgha*; if the maxim यस्यावसरो भ्रष्टस्तन्न were valid in grammar, P. VI., 1, 88 would not be applicable again, after having been once superseded by P. VI., 1, 102.

2. See Mahâbhâshya Ed. Ballantyne pag. 276-78. P. VII., 2, 1 सिचि वृद्धिः is superseded by P. VII., 2, 3 हलन्तलक्षणा वृद्धिः; this is again forbidden by P. VII., 2, 4 नेटि. Here the author of the Bhâshya remarks that the last rule forbids not only P. VII., 2, 3, but also P. VII., 2, 1, a remark which would be superfluous if the Bhrashṭâvasara-nyâya did apply in grammar: for if such were the case, P. VII., 2, 1 would have been superseded by P. VII., 2, 3 once for all.

effect. The substitution of a homogeneous long vowel does therefore not take place, and does for this reason not put an end to the substitution of Vṛiddhi).

The circumstance that (in a rule which teaches an operation regarding a particular word etc.) this word etc. is actually exhibited in its individual form, makes (that rule) supersede (another rule) likewise only when (without doing so) it would have no opportunity of taking effect. This appears from the Bhâshya[1] on the rule P. V., 4, 154; for there first the question is raised whether the word शेषात् (in P. V., 4, 154,) might not be superfluous, *viz.* because (even without शेषात्) those (affixes), which are taught (in rules) in which the words (to which the affixes are to be added) are each given individually, would supersede (the affix कप् taught in P. V., 4, 154); subsequently (however) it has been stated (that the last remark is incorrect) because rules supersede (other rules) when (without doing so) they would have no opportunity of taking effect, whereas (the rules which teach the addition to individual words of) *samâsânta* affixes, on the alternative that कप् (which according to P. V., 4, 154 is *optionally* added) is not added, *have* an opportunity of taking effect.—Sometimes when subsequent, *nitya*, and other (rules) are weighed against each other, the circumstance that (in a rule which teaches an operation regarding a particular word etc.) this word etc. is exhibited in its individual form, gives greater force to this rule even when an opportunity of taking

1. See Bhâshya on P. V., 4, 154: शेषाद्विभाषा । शेषादित्युच्यते । कः शेषः । याभ्यः प्रकृतिभ्यः समासान्तो न विधीयते स शेषः । किमर्थं पुनः शेषग्रहणं क्रियते । याभ्यः प्रकृतिभ्यः समासान्तः विधीयन्ते ताभ्यः कप्मा भूदिति । नैतदस्ति प्रयोजनम् । ये प्रतिपदं विधीयन्ते ते तत्र बाधका भविष्यन्ति । अनवकाशा हि विधयो बाधका भवन्ति सावकाशाश्च समासान्ताः । कोऽवकाशः । विभाषा कप् यदा न कप् सोऽवकाशः ।.....

effect is not wanting to it; (the greater force is here) caused by the fact that (the rule in which a word etc. is actually put down in its individual form) is more immediately present (to the mind than another rule in which such is not the case), and its effect is this that (such a rule) takes effect *before* (that other rule.[1] Such is the case) because Kaiyaṭa on the rule P. VII., 2, 98 quotes the statement that in the case of subsequent, *nitya*, *antaranga* rules, and rules in which the word etc. (regarding which the rules teach something) is exhibited in its individual form, when they come into conflict in the formation of one and the same form, (*one* rule takes effect), and that when they apply simultaneously, each following rule possesses greater force (than each and all of the rules mentioned before it).[2] It has on this account[3] (been stated) that in the (formation of the) Voc. Sing. of रमा (from रमा+स्) etc. the (substitution of) ए (for the final आ of रमा which is taught in P. VII., 3, 106,) takes place before (the elision of स् taught in P. VI., 1, 68,) *viz.* because in the former rule the individual word (संबुद्धि 'the Vocative termination') is actually read; (and ए having thus been substituted,) it is suggested that

1. See above Par. LVI. pag. 314 सेद्+वस्+अस्=सेदुषः. The substitution of Samprasâraṇa for the व् of वस् which is taught in P. VI., 4, 131 possesses greater force than, and takes therefore effect before, the addition of the augment इट् to वस् taught in P. VII., 2, 35, because in the former rule the individual वस् has actually been put down, whereas the latter rule teaches generally that इट् is prefixed to an Ârdhadhâtuka affix which begins with one of the letters contained in the Pratyâhâra वल्.

2. See Kaiyaṭa on P. VII., 2, 98: नित्यादप्यन्तरङ्गो बलीयस्तथा चोक्तं परनित्यान्तरङ्गप्रतिपदविधयो विरोधिसंनिपाते तेषां मिथःप्रसङ्गे परबलीयस्त्वमिति ॥ See above pag. 288.

3. अत एवेति । निरवकाशत्वाभावेऽयुक्तरीत्या प्रतिपदोक्तस्य बाधकत्वादवेत्यर्थः ॥ Chitprabhâ.

the elision of स् taught in P. VI., 1, 68 should have no concern (with रमे+स्) because the term आत् in the latter rule is a contraction of आ+आत् (meaning 'after a base ending with the affix आत् when it appears in the form of आ),' a suggestion which is disposed of[1] by (the statement that) स् is elided (not by P. VI.,1, 68, but) by P. VI., 1, 69.

1. समाहितमिति । एङ्ह्रस्वादिति प्रतीकमुपादाय मनोरमायां दीक्षितैरिति शेषः ॥ Chitprabhâ.

PARIBHÂSHÂ LXV.

Now one might say that *e. g.* in (the formation of) अयजे इन्द्रम् (from अयज-इ+इन्द्रम्) the (substitution by P. VI., 1, 87 of) Guṇa (for अ+इ), even though it is *antaranga*, ought to be superseded by the (substitution of the) homogeneous long vowel (ई for इ+इ which is taught in P. VI., 1, 101) an *Apavâda* (of the rule which teaches the substitution of Guṇa. The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore :

P. LXV : When an *Apavâda* serves a purpose elsewhere, then it is superseded by a (general) *antaranga* (rule) ;

because the reason why it would supersede (the general *antaranga* rule), *viz.* the circumstance that there would be no opportunity (for the taking effect of it if it did not supersede the *antaranga* rule), does (in this case) not exist. And so the (substitution (of a homogeneous long vowel (for इ+इ) is in the present instance (of अयज-इ+इन्द्रम्) superseded by the *antaranga* (substitution of the) Guṇa (ए for अ+इ), notwithstanding that the former is an

Apavâda of (both the substitution of) यण् (taught in P. VI., 1, 77) and (that of) Guṇa, *viz.* because it serves a purpose when it depends on the same (letters on which the substitution of यण् or Guṇa depends).[1] This concerns such *antaranga* (rules) as are *antaranga* for the reason that their causes (in the order of the pronunciation of the letters) precede (the causes of the *bahiranga Apavâdas*).[2]

When Kaiyaṭa however on P. VI., 4, 19 states (the opinion) that (the addition of) an augment and a substitution cannot one supersede the other, because their results differ, this[3] being the reason why *e. g.* when we say 'that curds shall be given to the Brâhmans, a blanket to Kauṇḍinya,' the giving of curds (to Kauṇḍinya) is not superseded by the (giving of a) blanket,[4]— this is wrong; for (that opinion) is contrary to the Bhâshya on P. VII., 4, 83 where it is stated that (the addition of the augment) नुक् should supersede the substitution of a long vowel.[5]

1. As *e. g.* in श्री+ईशः=श्रीशः where the substitution of the long vowel supersedes the substitution of य् for ई; and in दण्ड+अग्रम्=दण्डाग्रम् where the same substitution supersedes the substitution of the Guṇa vowel अ for अ+अ.

2. See Par. L. pag. 260.

3. *I. e.* this difference of the results of both. Curds are given for the preparation of food, blankets to protect from cold.

4. See Bhâshya on P. VI., 4, 19: अथ ऊडादिः कस्मान्न भवति । आदिटिङ्वनीत्यादिः प्राप्नोति । कस्य पुनरादिः । वकारस्य । अस्तु वकारस्य । का प्रतिपत्तिः । लोपो व्यौर्वलीति लोपो भविष्यति ।....

Kaiyaṭa .....लोपो भविष्यतीति । ननु नाप्राप्ते लोप आरभ्यमाण ऊङ् लोपस्य बाधकः प्राप्नोति । अत्र केचिदाहुः । भिन्नजातीयकत्वादागमेनादेशो न बाध्यते यथा दधि ब्राह्मणेभ्यो दीयतां कम्बलः कौण्डिन्यायेति दध्नः कम्बलो न बाधकः ॥ .....

5. See Par. LXVI.

PARIBHÂSHÂ LXVI.

Now one might say that *e. g.* in (the formation of) the Aor. of गण् the (substitution by P. VII., 4, 97 of) ई (for the final of the reduplicative syllable गण्) ought, because there would (otherwise) be no opportunity for the taking effect of it, to supersede the elision of the consonant ण् (taught in P. VII., 4, 60). Under these circumstances (the author of the Paribhâshâs) says:

P. LXVI: So far as changes of a reduplicative syllable are concerned, rules (which teach those changes) do not supersede one another.[1]

The employment of the word अकितः 'which has not an indicatory क्' in P. VII., 4, 83 indicates (the existence of) this (Paribhâshâ); else (अकितः) would clearly be superfluous, because after the addition of (the augment) नुक् (*e. g.*) in यंयम्यते there would (even did P. VII., 4, 83 not contain the word अकितः) be no occasion for the (substitution of a) long vowel (which is taught in that rule), because (the reduplicative syllable) no longer ends in a vowel.[2] This (Paribhâshâ) teaches that subsequent,

1. See Par. LVIII., pag. 331.

2. In the formation of यंयम्यते there apply to the reduplicative syllable य the two rules P. VII., 4, 85 which teaches the addition of नुक् to य and P. VII, 4, 83 which teaches the lengthening of the अ of य. Here the addition of नुक् must take effect first because P. VII., 4, 85 is an *Apavâda* of P. VII., 4, 83, and as by this addition अ ceases to be the final of the reduplicative syllable, the rule P. VII., 4, 83 would no longer be applicable even if it did not contain the word अकितः. But as the present Paribhâshâ teaches that the substitution of the long vowel is *not* superseded by the addition of नुक्, अकितः is necessary in P. VII., 4, 83, to prevent the lengthening of the अ of the reduplicative syllable of यंयम्यते after the addition of नुक्.

antaranga, and other (rules) which (according to preceding Paribhâshâs) would supersede (other rules), do likewise not possess that superseding power (when both concern changes of a reduplicative syllable); the result thereof is (the correct formation of forms like) अचीकरत्, मीमांसते etc.; in the former the change (of the reduplicative syllable) in such a manner as takes place in the Desiderative, would (if the present Paribhâshâ did not exist) be superseded by (the substitution of) a long vowel (for the vowel of the reduplicative syllable) because the latter is (taught in the) subsequent (rule P. VII., 4, 94, the former having been taught in P. VII., 4, 93);[1] in the latter (*i. e.* in मीमांसते) the substitution of short इ (taught in P. VII., 4, 79) would be superseded by the substitution taught in P. III., 1, 6 of a long vowel (for the vowel of the reduplicative syllable), because (this latter rule is) *antaranga*[2] (in regard to the former).[3]

1. By the present Paribhâshâ the vowel of the reduplicative syllable is first changed to इ by P. VII., 4, 93, and this इ is lengthened by P. VII., 4, 94.

2. The substitution of इ taught in P. VII., 4, 79 is *bahiranga* because it is caused by the following Desid. affix सन्. In the formation of मीमांसते P. VII., 4, 79 takes by the present Paribhâshâ effect first, and subsequently the इ which is substituted by that rule is lengthened by P. III., 1, 6.

3. See Bhâshya on P. VII., 4, 82:

ऐचोर्यङि दीर्घत्वप्रसङ्गो ह्रस्वाद्धि परं दीर्घत्वम् । ऐचोर्यङि दीर्घत्वं प्राप्नोति । डौदौक्यते तौलौक्यत इति । ननु च ह्रस्वत्वे कृते मूलगुणो भविष्यति दीर्घत्वं न भविष्यति । न सिध्यति । किं कारणम् । ह्रस्वाद्धि परत्वाद्दीर्घत्वम् । ह्रस्वत्वं क्रियमाणं दीर्घत्वमिति परत्वाद्दीर्घत्वेन भवितव्यम् ॥ न वाभ्यासविकारेष्वपवादस्योत्सर्गाबाधकत्वात् । न वैष दोषः । किं कारणम् । अभ्यासविकारेष्वपवादस्योत्सर्गाबाधकत्वात् । अभ्यासविकारेष्वपवादा उत्सर्गान्न बाधन्त इत्येषा परिभाषा कर्तव्या । कान्येतस्याः परिभाषायाः प्रयोजनानि । प्रयोजनं सन्वद्भावस्य दीर्घत्वम् । अचीकरत् अजोहरत् । सन्वद्भावमपवादत्वाद्दीर्घत्वं न बाधते । मान्प्रभृतीनां दीर्घत्वमपवादत्वादित्वं न बाधते । गणेरित्वं हलादेःशेषस्य । गणेरित्वमपवादत्वाद्धलादेःशेषं न बाधते ॥

When Kaiyaṭa however (in his remarks) on the rule P. VI., 4, 120 states that the present (Paribhâshâ is applicable) only where all (the rules can) take effect *i. e.* where both the superseding rule (can) take effect when the rule, which (without this Paribhâshâ) would have been superseded by it, has taken effect, and where also the latter rule (can) take effect after the former, [1] he is wrong; for as (in the case of यंयम्यते) the (substitution of a) long vowel would not apply after the addition of (the augment) नुक्, (Kaiyaṭa's statement) goes against (the employment of the term अकित: in P. VII., 4, 83) which proves the existence of the Paribhâshâ,[2] and it is also at variance with the example (मीमांसते) which in the Bhâshya on the rule P. VII. 4, 82 is given for this (Paribhâshâ), becâuse the (rule which teaches) the substitution of short इ no longer applies when

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इदमयुक्तं वर्तते। किमत्रायुक्तम्। ऐचोर्योङे दीर्घत्वप्रसङ्गो ह्रस्वाद्धि परं दीर्घत्वमित्युच्यते तत्र उच्यते न वाभ्यासविकारेष्वपवादस्योत्सर्गोबाधकत्वादिति तस्या अपि परिभाषाया: प्रयोजनानि नामीत्यन्ते प्रयोजनं सन्वद्भावस्य दीर्घत्वं मान्प्रभृतीनामित्वस्य गणेरित्वं हलादिःशेषस्येति। न च सन्वद्भावमपवादत्वाद्दीर्घत्वं बाधते। किं तर्हि। परत्वात्। न खल्वपि मान्प्रभृतीनां दीर्घत्वमपवादत्वादित्वं बाधते। किं तर्हि। अन्तरङ्गत्वात्। न खल्वपि गणेरित्वमपवादत्वाद्धलादिःशेषं बाधते। किं तर्हि। अनवकाशत्वात्। एवं तर्हीयं परिभाषा कर्तव्या। अभ्यासविकारेषु बाधका न बाधन्त इति। सा तर्ह्येषा परिभाषा कर्तव्या। न कर्तव्या। आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति भवत्येषा परिभाषेति यदयमाकित इति प्रतिषेधं शास्ति॥

Kaiyaṭa: ऐचोरिति। ह्रस्वस्यावकाश: पपावित्यादि। दीर्घोऽकित इत्यस्यावकाश: कृते ऽकृते वा ह्रस्वत्वे पाच्यत इति। डोदौक्यत इत्यादौ तु परत्वादौकारस्य दीर्घ औकार एव प्राप्नोति। .....

1. As *e. g.* in the case of नर्नर्त्ति where P. VII., 4, 92 is applicable when P. VII., 4, 66 has taken effect and *vice versâ*.

2. See Par. LV. pag. 303. If the Paribhâshâ did convey the meaning assigned to it by Kaiyaṭa, it would not be applicable in the formation of यंयम्यते etc., and in that case अकित: in P. VII., 4, 83 would be entirely superfluous.

a long vowel has been substituted (for the vowel of the reduplicative syllable of) मान्, वध्र etc.[1] More hereof elsewhere.[2]

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1. See Bhâshya on P. VI, 4 120 : णकारषकारादेरेत्त्ववचनं लिटि । णकारषकारादेरेत्त्वं लिटि वक्तव्यम् । नेमतुः । नेमुः । सेहे । सेहाते । सेहिरे । किं पुनः कारणं न सिध्यति । अनादेशादेरिति प्रतिषेधः प्राप्नोति । तत्तर्हि वक्तव्यम् । न वक्तव्यम् । लिट्यालादेशादि विशेषयिष्यामः । लिटि य आदेशादिस्तदादेर्न । अस्त्यन्यल्लिङ्ग्रहणस्य प्रयोजनम् । किम् । इह मा भूत् । पक्ता । पक्तुम् । नैतदस्ति प्रयोजनम् । क्ङितीति वर्तते । एवमपि पक्वः पक्ववानित्यत्र प्राप्नोति । अभ्यासलोपसंनियोगेनैत्त्वमुच्यते न चात्राभ्यासलोपं पश्यामः । एवमपि पापच्यत इत्यत्र प्राप्नोति । दीर्घत्वमत्र बाधकं भविष्यति । नाप्राप्ते ऽभ्यासविकार एत्त्वमारभ्यते । तद्यथासावन्यानभ्यासविकारान्बाधत एवं दीर्घत्वमपि बाधेत । सत्यमेवमेतत् । अभ्यासविकारेष्वपि तु ह्रयेष्ठमध्यमकनीयांसः प्रकारा भवन्ति । तत्र ह्रस्वहलादिःशेषावुत्सर्गौ । तयोर्दीर्घत्वमपवाद एत्त्वं च । अपवादविप्रतिषेधाद्दीर्घत्वं भविष्यति ॥

Kaiyaṭa : लिटि य आदेशादिरिति । नत्वसत्वयोरनैमित्तिकत्वाल्लिङ्निमित्तत्वाभावः ॥ अभ्यासलोपसंनियोगेनेति । अभ्यासलोपश्चेति चशब्दः समुच्चये न त्वन्वाचये ॥ दीर्घत्वमतेति । अभ्यासविकारेषु बाधका न बाधन्त इत्येतत्तु यत्र सर्वेषां प्रवृत्तिस्तत्राश्रीयते । यद्यपि कृते दीर्घत्व एत्त्वाभ्यासलोपप्रसङ्गस्तथाप्येत्त्वाभ्यासलोपयोः कृतयोर्दीर्घत्वाप्रसङ्ग इति विरुद्धत्वादबाधकत्वाभावः ॥ नाप्राप्त इति । क्वचिद्ध्रस्वः क्वचिद्धलादिःशेषश्च प्राप्नोति ॥ ह्रयेष्ठमध्यमकनीयांस इति । मध्यमापेक्षयोत्सर्गस्य प्रकर्षसद्भावात्कनीयानुत्सर्गोऽन्यतर इत्यर्थः । मध्यमो यः कस्यचिद्बाधकः कस्यचिद्बाध्यः । ह्रयेष्ठो यो बाधकस्यापि बाधकः ॥

2. P: Nor can one say that if Kaiyaṭa's statement is rejected the Bhâshya on P. VI., 4, 120, on account of which Kaiyaṭa makes his statement, becomes improper. The opinion of the author of the Bhâshya is simply this that Paribhâshâ LXVI. is *anitya* (because that which is indicated by a Jnâpaka is not universally valid) and therefore not adopted on P. VI., 4, 120. This Nâgojibhaṭṭa indicates by saying इत्यन्यत्र *i. e.* उद्द्योतादौ, विस्तरः.

PARIBHÂSHÂ LXVII.

One might say that, wherever (the affix) तृन् (is added by P. III., 2, 135, in the sense of) 'having such a habit' etc., (the affix) ण्वुल् also may be (added by P. III., 1, 133 in the same sense);[1] nor (would it be correct to object that) तृन् is an *Apavâda* (of ण्वुल् and that it supersedes the latter on that account altogether), for an *Apavâda*-(affix which is) not uniform (with an *Utsarga*-affix) supersedes (the latter by P. III., 1, 94 only) optionally. (The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore :

P. LXVII: The rule P. III., 1, 94, (by which an *Apavâda*-affix which is not uniform with an *Utsarga*-affix should supersede the latter only optionally), has no concern with (*Apavâda*-affixes) added in the sense of 'having such a habit' (*i. e.* with the affixes taught in P. III., 2, 134-177).[2]

The fact that (the addition of) वुञ् to the monosyllabic (roots निन्द् etc.) is taught by the rule P. III., 2, 146 (to form निन्दक etc.), while, (if the present Paribhâshâ did not exist, the same bases निन्दक etc.) would have resulted from (the addition of the affix) ण्वुल् (taught in P. III., 1, 133), indicates (the existence of) this (Paribhâshâ); for there would be no difference of accentuation (between bases formed) by the addition of ण्वुल् or of

1. *Viz.* in accordance with P. III., 1, 94.

2. The affix तृन् of P. III., 2, 135 supersedes therefore the affix ण्वुल् of P. III., 1, 133, not optionally, but altogether.

वुञ् to (monosyllabic roots like निन्द् etc).[1] The Locative ताच्छील्ये-केषु (in this Paribhâshâ conveys the meaning that P. III., 1, 94 has no concern) with any (*Apavâda*-affixes) whatsoever (added in the sense of 'having such a habit,' and) we are thereby informed that (such affixes supersede not merely *Utsarga*-affixes likewise) added in the sense of 'having such a habit,' (but) also (*Utsarga*-affixes that are) *not* added in the sense of 'having such a habit,' (contrary to P. III., 1, 94), not optionally, (but necessarily and altogether.)[2] Now one might say that if such were (the meaning of the present Paribhâshâ,[3] two bases) such as कस्रा and कमना ought not to be formed[4] (by P. III., 2, 167 and P. III., 2, 149 etc. respectively), because (in this instance the

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1. A base formed by the addition of the affix ण्वुल् has the *udâtta* accent on the syllable that precedes the affix (P. VI., 1, 193); a base formed by the addition of वुञ् is *ádyudâtta* (P. VI., 1, 197). When ण्वुल् and वुञ् are added to monosyllabic roots, the bases so formed are in both cases *ádyudâtta*. In the case of polysyllabic roots there does arise a difference of accentuation from the addition of ण्वुल् and वुञ्, and it would therefore have been necessary for Pâṇini to teach in III, 2, 146 the addition of वुञ् to असूय, even if the present Paribhâshâ did not exist.

2. The affix इष्णुच् which by P. III., 2, 136 is added to अलंकृञ्, supersedes therefore not merely the addition of तृन् to अलंकृञ् (by P. III., 2, 135), but also the addition of ण्वुल् to the same (by P. III., 1, 133.) If a *tâchchhîlika Apavâda* were to supersede only an *atâchchhîlika Utsarga*, it would have been superfluous for Pâṇini to teach in III., 2, 150 the addition of युच् to पद्, because in that case the addition by P. III., 2 154 of उकञ् to पद् would not have debarred the addition of युच् to पद् by P. III., 2, 149. See Si. Kau. II., pag. 372.

3. *I. e.* if a *tâchchhîlika Apavâda* were to supersede also a *tâchchhîlika Utsarga*.

4. Nor गन्तृ and गामुक by P. III., 2, 135 and 154; nor विकत्थिन् and विकत्थन by P. III., 2, 143 and 149, etc.

affix) युच् of P. III., 2, 149 ought (in accordance with this Paribhâshâ) to be superseded altogether by (the *Apavâda*-affix) र taught in P. III., 2, 167; but such an objection would be futile, for the prohibition by P. III., 2, 153 of (the addition of) युच् to दीप् shows[1] that what is taught in the present (Paribhâshâ) is not universally valid.[2]

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1. If the Paribhâshâ were universally valid, the affix र the addition of which to दीप् is taught in P. III., 2, 167, would in accordance with it supersede the addition of युच् to दीप् altogether, and it would have been superfluous for Pâṇini to teach in III., 2, 153, that युच् is not to be added to दीप्. See Si. Kau. II., pag. 370 and 373.

2. See Bhâshya on P. III., 2, 146 : किमर्थं निन्दादिभ्यो वुञ्विधीयते न ण्वुलेव सिद्धं न ह्यत्र विशेषो निन्दादिभ्यो वुञो ण्वुळो वा । तदेव रूपं स एव स्वरः । वुञमनेकाचः प्रयोजयन्ति । असूयकः । अथ यलेकाचः पठ्यन्ते तेषां ग्रहणं किमर्थं न तेषां ण्वुलेव सिद्धम् । न सिध्यति । अयं तच्छीलादिष्वर्थेषु तृन्विधीयते स विशेषविहितः सामान्यविहितं ण्वुलं बाधेत । वासरूपेण ण्वुळपि भविष्यति । अत उत्तरं पठति । निन्दादिभ्यो वुञ्वचनमन्येभ्यो ण्वुल्प्रतिषेधार्थं वा । निन्दादिभ्यो वुञ्वचनं क्रियते ज्ञापकार्थम् । किं ज्ञाप्यम् । एतज्ज्ञापयत्याचार्यस्तच्छीलादिषु वासरूपन्यायेनान्येभ्यो ण्वुल् न भवतीति । तृजादिप्रतिषेधार्थं वा । अथवैतज्ज्ञापयत्याचार्यस्तच्छीलिकेषु सर्वे तृजादयो वासरूपेण न भवन्तीति ॥

PARIBHÂSHÂ LXVIII.

Now one might say that, (if) then (P. III., 1, 94 had no concern merely with *Apavâda*-affixes added in the sense of 'having such a habit'), the (*Utsarga*-affix) यञ् might, (in accordance with P. III., 1, 94, by P. III., 3, 18) be added *e. g.* (to इस्

just as the *Apavâda*-affix क्त has by P. III., 3, 114 been added to it) in हसितं छात्रस्य, (or the *Apavâda*-affix ल्युट् by P. III., 3, 115 in) हसनं (छात्रस्य; or, as the *Apavâda*-affix तुमुन् has by P. III., 3, 158 been added to भुज्) in इच्छति भोक्तुम्, (so might the *Utsarga*-affixes) लिङ् and लोट् (be added to भुज् by P. III., 3, 157 in the same phrase;[1] or, as the *Apavâda*-affix युच् has by P. III., 3, 128 been added to पा) in ईषत्पानः सोमो भवता, (so might the *Utsarga*-affix) खल् (be added to पा by P. III., 3, 126 in the same phrase. The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore:

P. LXVIII: The rule P. III., 1, 94 has no concern with (the affixes) क्त, ल्युट्, तुमुन्, and (युच्) added in the sense of खल् (in P. III., 3, 126, when these affixes are *Apavâda*-affixes).[2]

This results from the circumstance that the rule P. III., 1, 94 is not universally valid; and that (P. III., 1, 94) is not universally valid is indicated by P. III., 3, 169; for in that (rule the affixes denoted by the term) कृत्य and तृच् are put down in order that (the addition of the affixes denoted by) कृत्य and तृच् may not be (entirely) superseded by (the addition of the affix) लिङ् (in P. III., 3, 168), which, as is shown by the word च 'and' (in P. III., 3, 169), may likewise be added (by P. III., 3,

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1. लिङ् *may* be added to भुज् by P. III., 3, 159. See Kaiyata on pag. 44 above.

2. एतेषु घञादीनामपवादभूतेषु सत्सु स नास्तीत्यर्थः. P. The *Apavâda*-affixes क्त and ल्युट् of P. III., 3, 114 and 115 supersede therefore the *Utsarga*-affix घञ् of P. III., 3, 18 entirely etc. When क्त etc. are *Utsarga*-affixes, the rule P. III., 1, 94 does apply.

169);[1] more elsewhere[2]. (The Paribhâshâ) is found in the Bhâshya on P. III., 1, 94.[3]

1. If P. III., 1, 94 were universally valid, कृत्यतृचः in P. III., 3, 169 would be superfluous; for in that case लिङ्, which is taught in P. III., 3, 168 and which, as appears from the च in P. III., 3, 169, is valid also in the latter rule, would supersede the affixes termed कृत्य and तृच् which have been taught in preceding general rules, only optionally. The fact that कृत्यतृचः has been put down in III., 3, 169 shows, that लिङ् would supersede the affixes कृत्य and तृच् entirely, if कृत्यतृचः were not put down in III., 3, 169, or, in other words, that P. III., 1, 94 cannot be universally valid.

2. अन्यत्र *i. e.* शेखरादौ. P. The fact that P. III., 1, 94 is not universally valid, allows us to dispense with Par. LXVII.—LXIX. altogether.

3. See above pag. 44.—Si. Kau. II., pag. 314.

PARIBHÂSHÂ LXIX.

Now one might say that, (as the *Apavâda*-affix लुट् has by P. III., 3, 15 been added to पच् in श्वः पक्ता, (so) might (be *Utsarga*-affix) लट् also, in accordance with P. III., 1, 94, (by P. III., 3, 13,) be added (to पच् in the same phrase), because (लुट् and लट्) cease to be uniform when their substitutes have taken their places.[1] (The author of the Paribhâshâs) says therefore:[2]

1. लुट् and लट् are really by Par. VIII. uniform, and P. III., 1, 94 should therefore have no concern with them; but being regarded as not uniform because the substitutes which must take their places are not uniform, P. III., 1, 94 would apply to them if the present Paribhâshâ did not forbid its application.

2. See Bhâshya on P. III., 1, 94, above pag. 43.

P. LXIX: The rule P. III., 1, 94 has no concern with the substitutes for the ल् (of लट्, लिट्, लुट्, लृट्, लेट्, लोट्, लङ्, लिङ्, लुङ्, लृङ्).

I. e. it has no concern with लट्, लिट् etc. although they cease to be uniform when their several substitutes have taken their places.[1] The fact that (Pâṇini) in III., 2, 116 teaches (the addition of) लङ् indicates (the existence of) this (Paribhâshâ; if), on the other hand, (the Paribhâshâ did not exist),[2] it would have been superfluous to teach (the addition of) लङ् (in P. III., 2, 116), for in that case (the *Utsarga*-affix) लङ् (of P., III., 2, 111) might, (in accordance with P. III., 1, 94), have been added wherever (the *Apavâda*-affix) लिट् would have been added by P. III., 2, 115, because (लिट् and लङ्) are not uniform (when their substitutes have taken their places).

When[3] in (the rule P. III., 2, 124 लटः शतृशानचौ) which teaches (the substitution of) शतृ, the word विभाषा 'optionally' is valid

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1. The *Apavâda*-affix लुट् of P. III., 3, 15 supersedes therefore the *Utsarga*-affix लट् of P. III., 3, 13, not optionally, but entirely. Similarly does an *Apavâda*-substitute for one of the affixes लट्, लिट् etc. supersede an *Utsarga*-substitute for the same affix entirely. See below.

2. If this Paribhâshâ did not exist, the लिट् of P. III., 2, 115 would in accordance with P. III., 1, 94 supersede the लङ् of P. III., 2, 111 only optionally, and it would be superfluous to teach that after ह and शश्वत् लङ् as well as लिट् may be added to a root. When Pâṇini in P. III., 2, 116 nevertheless teaches this, he shows thereby that the लिट् of III., 2, 115 supersedes the लङ् of III., 2, 111 entirely, and he indicates thus the existence of the present Paribhâshâ.

3. Chitprabhâ: नन्वेवमादेशकृतवैरूप्यवत्सु लकारेषु वासरूपविधिभावे अपि तदादेशेषु त्वसारूप्याद्वासरूपविधिः स्यात्। तथा सति निषेधिचानित्यत्व भाषायां सदवसश्रुवः [3. 2. 108] इति सूत्रेण भूतसामान्ये सदादिभ्यो विधीयमानक्विपः क्वसुरतेन निष्ठासमा-

(from P. III., 2, 121), to the end that (the personal terminations denoted by) तिङ् also may be substituted wherever शतृ etc. are substituted (by P. III., 2, 124),[1]—and when the word वा 'optionally' is put down in P. III., 2, 106—, (both) these (circumstances) indicate, as is suggested by Kaiyaṭa[2] and elsewhere, that the *Apavâda*-affixes (spoken of) in P. III., 1, 94, can only be such

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वेशे सप्तम्यन्तं स्यादित्यत आह शतृशानचोरिति ॥ The following 'when in the rule....' is added to justify the interpretation of लादेशेषु by आदेशकृतवैरूप्यवत्सु लकारेषु. According to what follows P. III., 1, 94 can have no concern with the substitutes for लट् etc. because the *Apavâda*-affixes referred to in P. III., 1, 94 can only be such affixes as are no substitutes, and we want therefore, according to Nâgojîbhaṭṭa, no *Paribhâshâ* to teach us that P. III., 1, 94 has no concern 'with the substitutes for लट्, लिट् etc.' Notwithstanding this remark of Nâgojîbhaṭṭa, we have taken लादेशेषु as a Tatpurusha-compound, in the sense of लस्यादेशेषु, and have translated it accordingly by 'the substitutes for the ल् of लट्, लिट् etc.' In our opinion the Paribhâshâ refers not merely to लट्, लिट् etc. for which in the actual language we always find substitutes, but it refers also to the different substitutes for any one of the affixes लट् etc.

1. If P. III., 1, 94 did apply, the substitution of शतृ etc. would already by that rule supersede the substitution of तिङ् only optionally, and it would be superfluous to make the word विभाषा of P. III., 2, 121 valid in the rule लटः शतृशानचौ. The same remark applies to the substitute कानच् for लिट् and to the word वा 'optionally' in P. III., 2, 106.

2. On P. III., 2, 127. See Chitprabhâ: कैयटे ध्वनिनमिति | तृतीयस्य द्वितीये तौ सादिति सूत्र इति शेषः | तत्र अथवा चैतावुत्तरौ शानजौ किमेतौ लादेशावादेशेष्वित्यत्र दलादेशौ कथन्न विशेष उत्तरयोर्लादेशे वाक्यमिति | तत्रोत्तरयोरिति प्रतीकमुपादाय लादेशेषु वासरूपविधिर्नास्तीत्युक्तत्वादिति भाव इति भावः | यदि वासरूपे असरूपादधीयो उत्तराद् आदेशशानाक्रान्तप्रत्ययरूपो न गृह्येत तदा लादेशेष्वित्युक्तपरिभाषाया लक्षणादिनादेशकृतवैरूप्यवत्सु लकारेषु स नास्तीत्यर्थे प्रकृते तदप्रवृत्त्या नास्तीत्युक्तत्वादिति कैयटोक्तिरयुक्ता स्यादतस्तत्र स आदेशत्वानाक्रान्त एव प्रत्ययरूपो गृह्यत इति तदुक्तया ध्वनितम् | ध्वनिते च सप्तम्यन्तत एव वासरूपविधिर्न प्रवर्तते न तु परिभाषानलादिति तदाशयः ॥

affixes as have not the nature of substitutes;[1] the result hereof, however, must be considered to be this that for the लिट्, which is added to सद् etc. to denote past time generally, कसु only (can be substituted), and (that we have) not the alternative (of substituting for it the personal terminations denoted by) तिङ्.[2]

1. As ज्ञा etc. *are* substitutes, P. III., 1, 94 cannot apply to them.
2. See above pag. 358. note 3.

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